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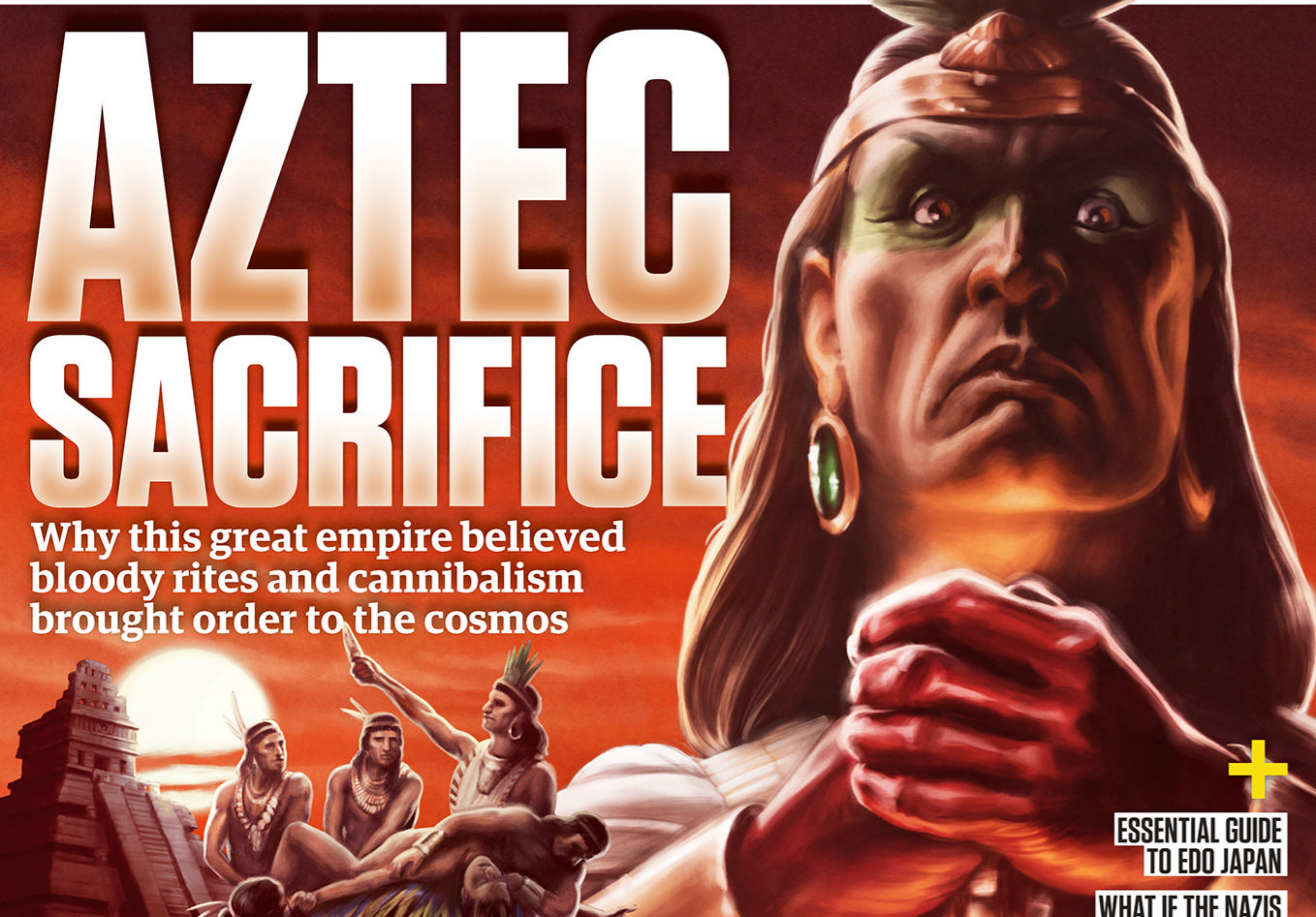

AZTEC SACRIFICE

Why this great empire believed bloody rites and cannibalism brought order to the cosmos

+

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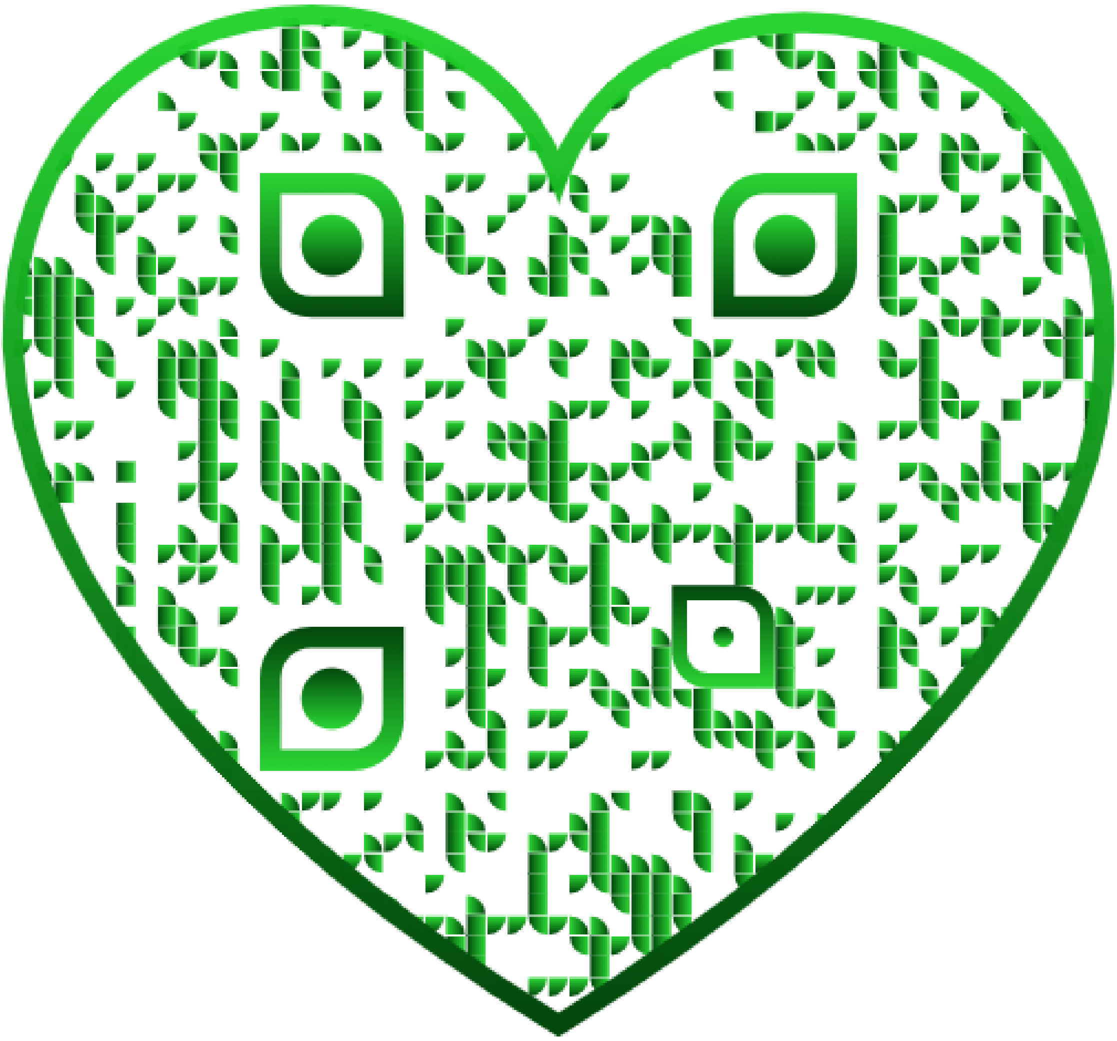

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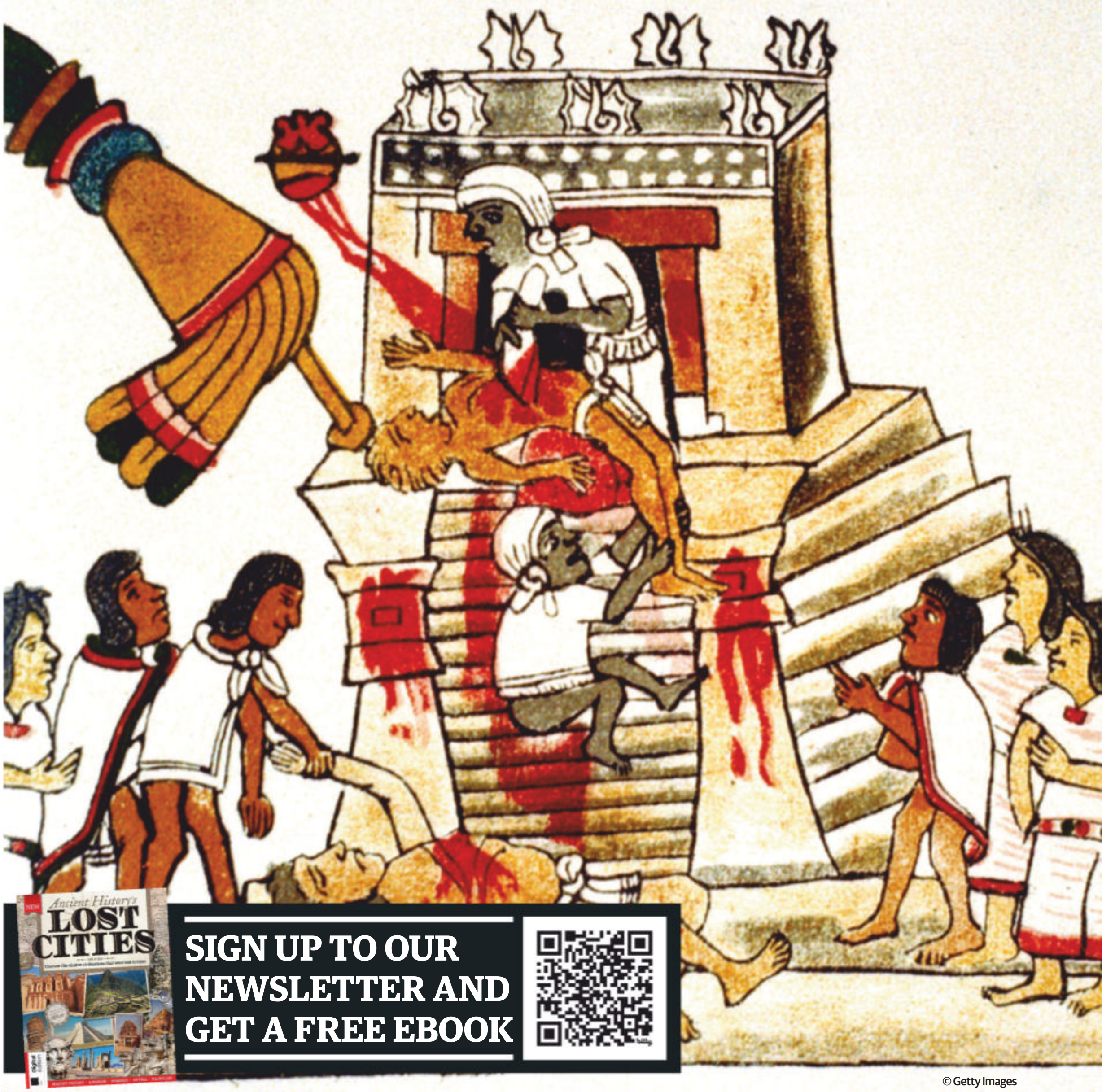

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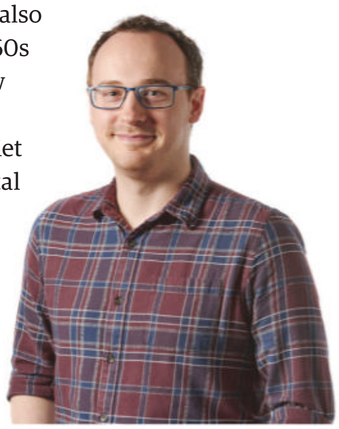
A copy of a sacrifice scene taken from the *Aztec Codex*

Welcome

A common question we face when exploring cultures of the past is whether or not we should judge them by modern standards. It brings us into the realms of morality and philosophy that, as historians, are not necessarily areas where we are at our most comfortable. From racial prejudice to religious panics, the past can seem very far from our modern sensibilities. In no place is this more stark than in how human life is valued (or not, as the case may be). From the gladiatorial arenas of Rome to the sacrificial altars of Central America, life was thought of very differently around the world and in various eras.

My instinct is to try to more fully understand the context of something that seems so foreign to our sensibilities. In the case of the Aztecs, it's a common area of interest that we have yet to examine in isolation, so that is the plan for our cover feature this issue. We welcome Ben Gazur to break down the intended results and justifications of sacrifice in the Aztec world. This issue you can also learn about the 1960s spy obsession, how the WAAF rose to prominence, the diet tips that proved fatal and much more. I hope you enjoy the issue.



Jonathan Gordon
Editor

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Defining Moments

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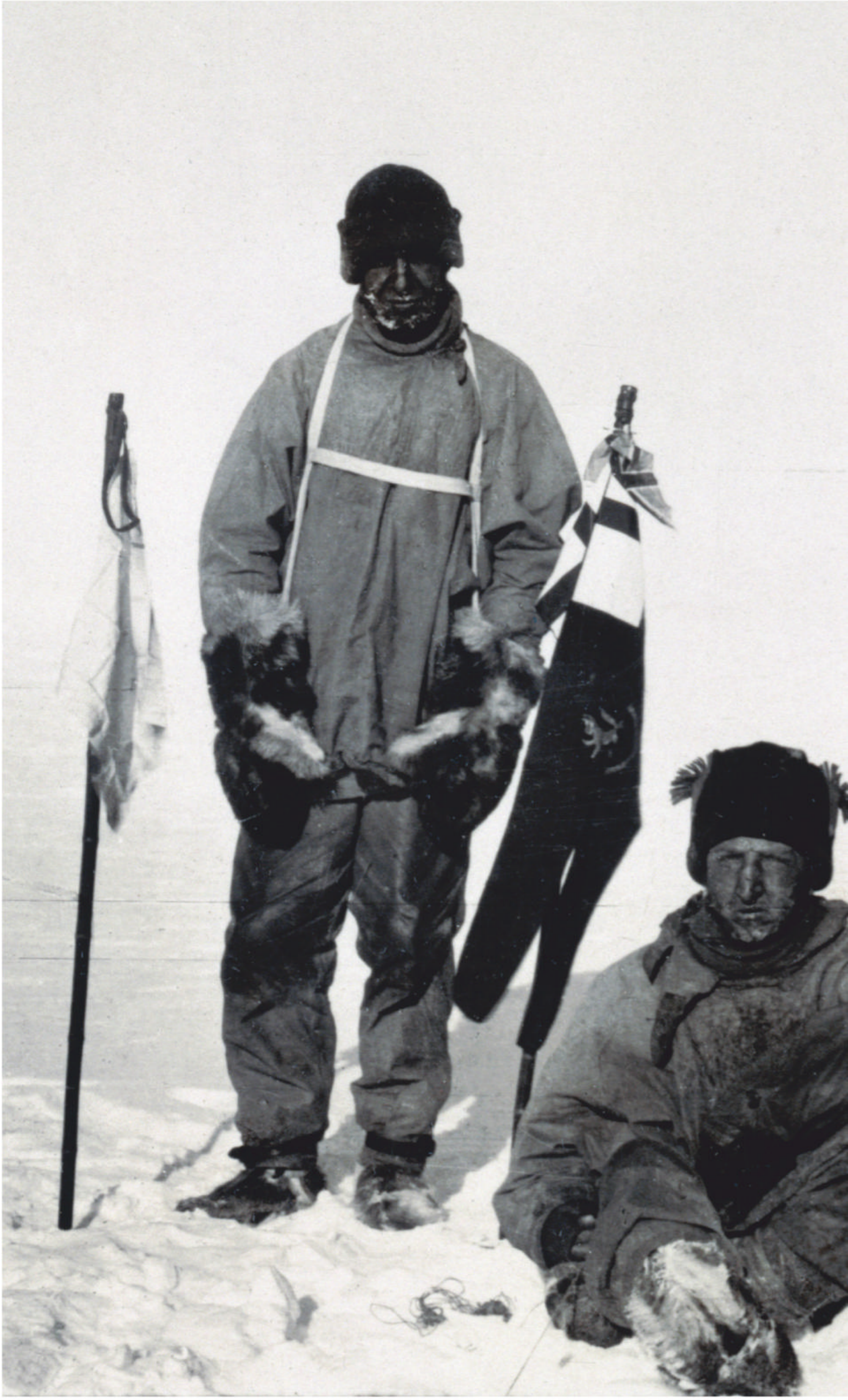
29 December 1998

KHMER ROUGE LEADERS APOLOGISE

At a press conference in Phnom Penh two leaders of the Khmer Rouge, the communist movement that ruled Cambodia from 1975 to 1979, apologised for the genocide perpetrated by their regime. The leader of the Khmer Rouge, Pol Pot, had died the previous April. During their rule, mass killings of around two million people, nearly 25 percent of the country's population, were carried out. In their brief apologies, which many Cambodians found insincere, Khieu Samphan and Nuon Chea asked people to "please forget the past."



17 January 1912

SCOTT'S EXPEDITION REACHES THE SOUTH POLE

As part of the British Antarctic Expedition, a team of five men led by Captain Robert Falcon Scott reached the South Pole. When they arrived, they discovered they had been beaten to it 34 days earlier by Roald Amundsen and his Norwegian crew. Scott and his team did not survive the return journey and their bodies and possessions, including this photograph, were discovered eight months later.

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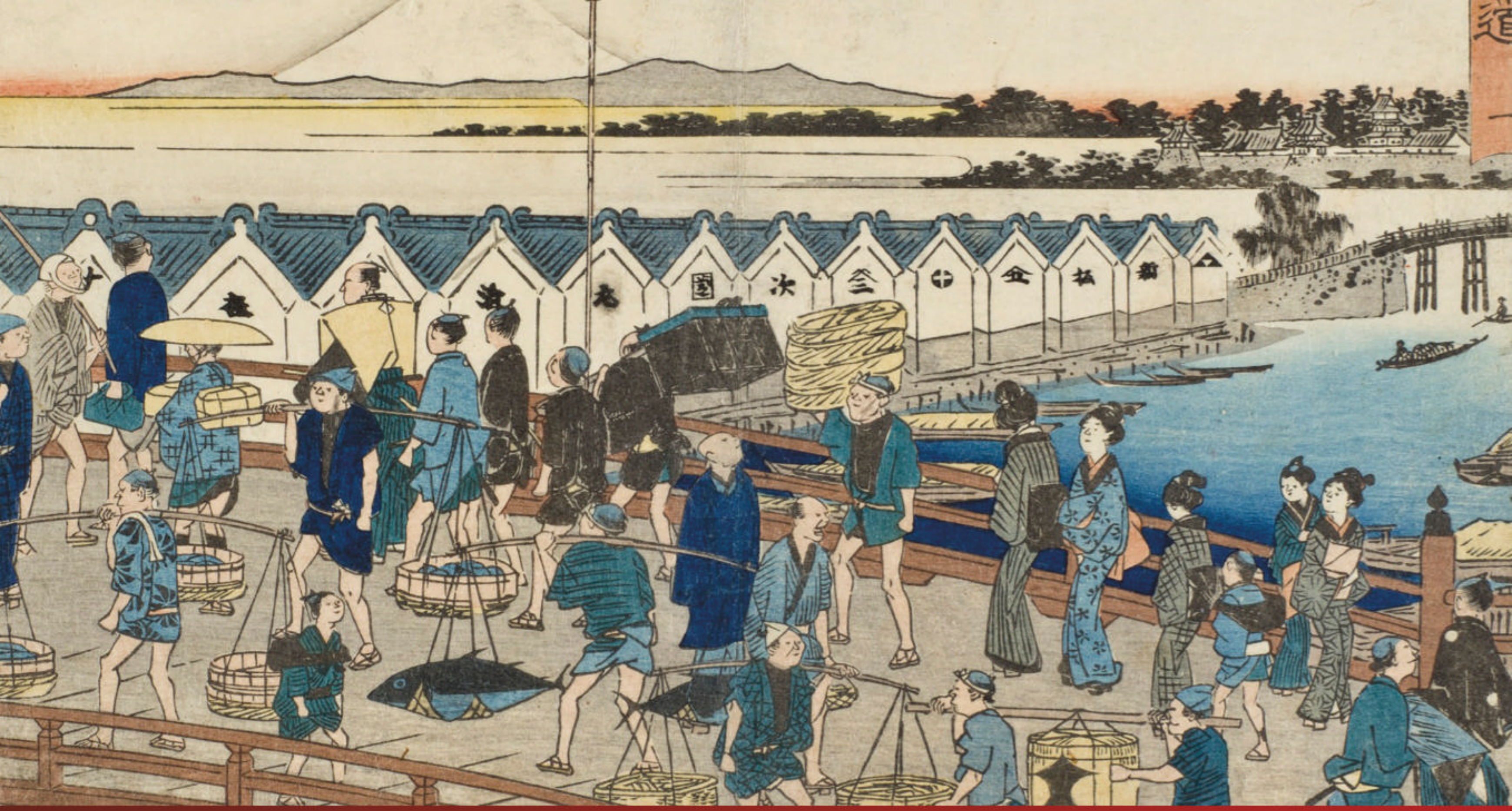

ALL ABOUT

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Discover how the island nation developed under the relative peace of the Tokugawa Shogunate

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OF EDO ART

Main image: © xxxxx

Written by Emily Staniforth, Callum McKelvie, Jonathan Gordon

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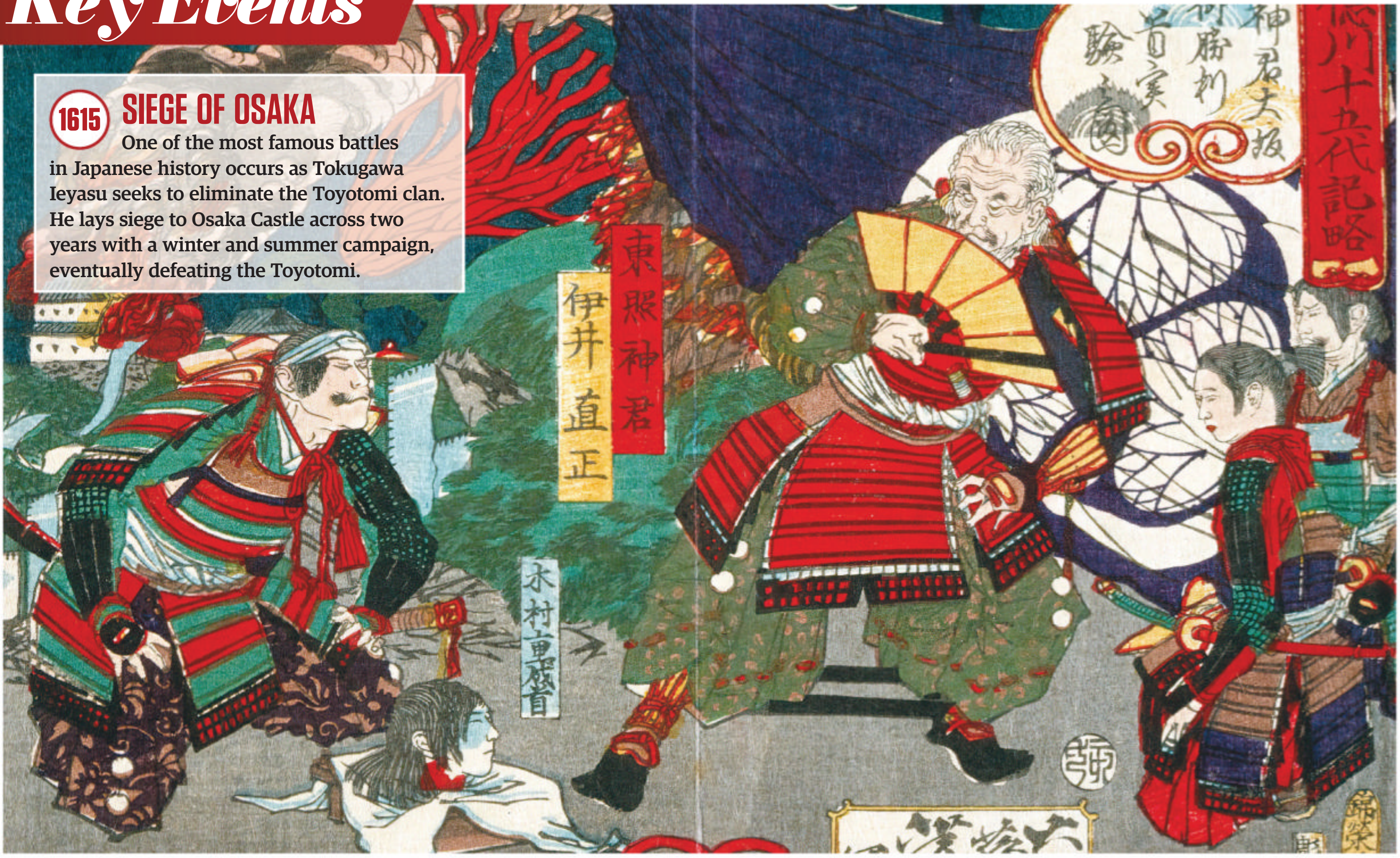

東照神君
伊井直正
木村重成首

1615 SIEGE OF OSAKA

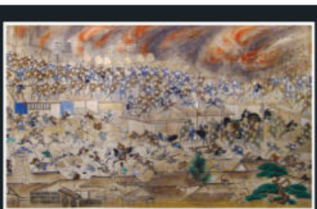
One of the most famous battles in Japanese history occurs as Tokugawa Ieyasu seeks to eliminate the Toyotomi clan. He lays siege to Osaka Castle across two years with a winter and summer campaign, eventually defeating the Toyotomi.

NIJO CASTLE BUILT 1603

Tokugawa Ieyasu begins the construction of Nijo Castle, which remains the residence of the shogunate until 1867.

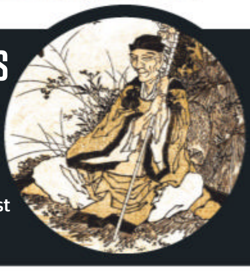
THE GREAT FIRE OF MEIREKI 1657

A fire breaks out in the city of Edo and spreads rapidly. Sixty percent of the city is destroyed and around 100,000 people perish in the blaze.



MATSUO BASHŌ WRITES FIRST HAIKU 1679

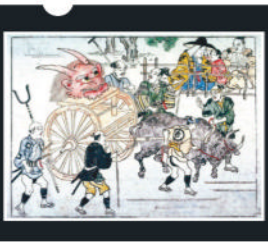
Former samurai Matsuo Bashō begins to write poetry in the form of the haiku. His work sees the form become one of the most beloved in Japan.



1603 1615 1637

DUTCH TRADE RELATIONS ESTABLISHED 1609

Formal trade relations between the Netherlands and Japan are established. The Dutch East India Company trades numerous Japanese goods.



HISHIKAWA MORONBU POPULARISES UKIYO-E c.1670

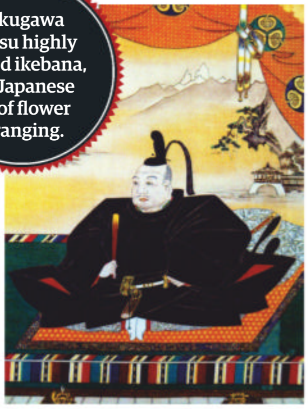
Woodblock artist Hishikawa Moronbu popularises the genre of ukiyo-e, images that portray everyday scenes from urban Japan. Thousands of woodblock prints are produced during the Edo period.

EXPANSION OF EDO c.1700

The shogunate undertakes a number of urban development projects in Edo, transforming it into a bustling city. Over subsequent centuries the city prioritises reusing and recycling items due to Japan's isolationist policy.

1603 TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE ESTABLISHED

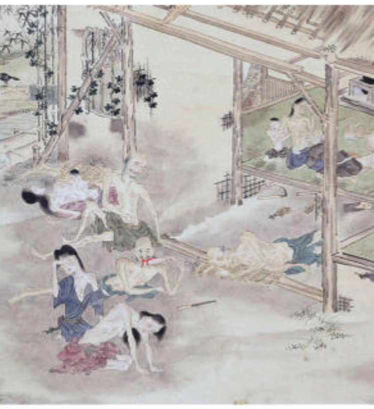
Following the Battle of Sekigahara, Tokugawa Ieyasu establishes the Tokugawa Shogunate. A strict societal class system is created and all foreigners are banned, leading to centuries of isolationism. The shogunate establishes itself in Edo, modern-day Tokyo.

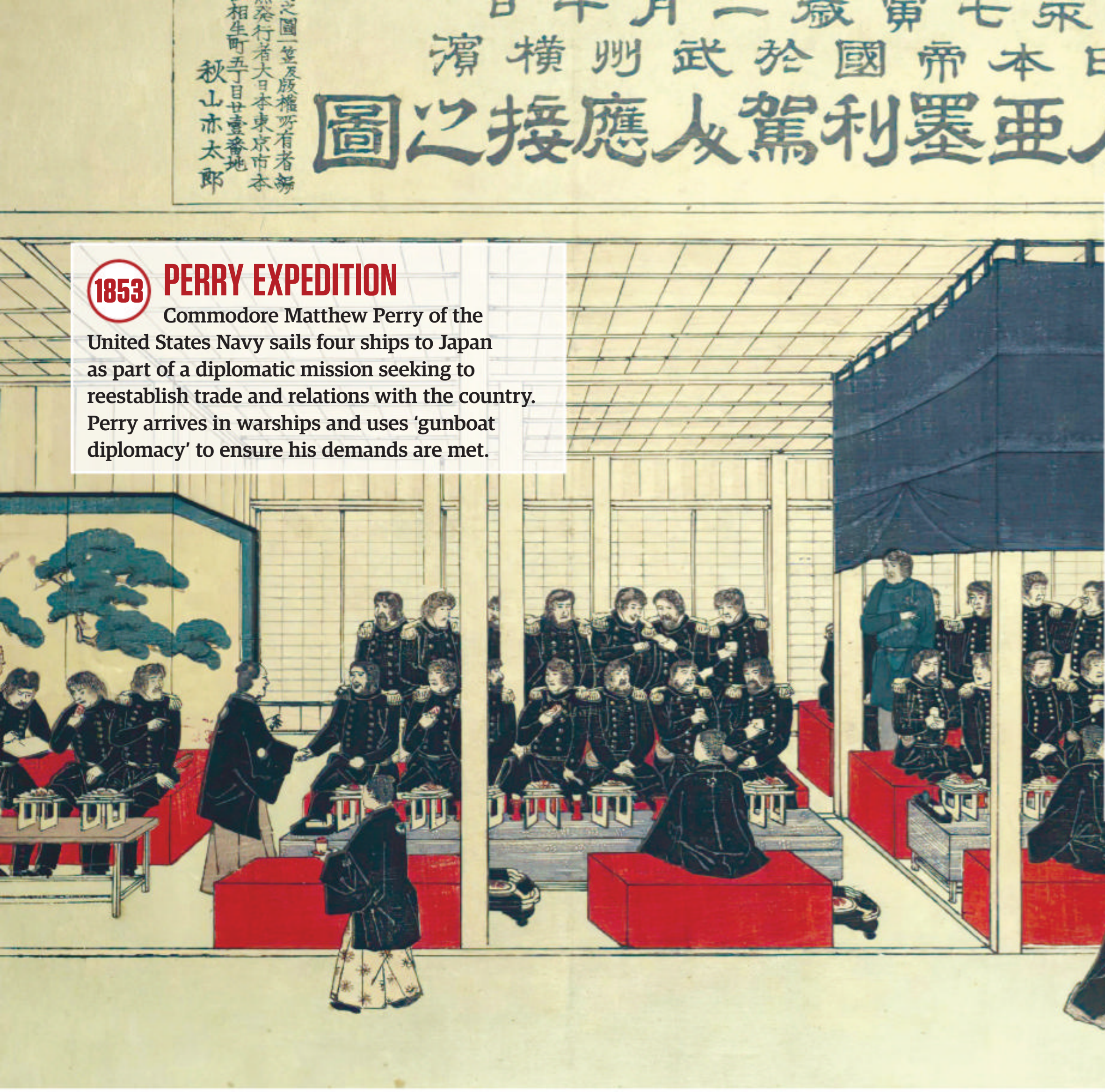


Tokugawa Ieyasu highly valued ikebana, the Japanese art of flower arranging.

1637 SHIMABARA REBELLION

Amakusa Shiro leads a revolt of Christian peasants against the repression of their religion and the harsh policies of the feudal lord Mastukura Katsuie. The rebellion ends in 1638 and thousands involved are beheaded. Christianity is then driven underground.

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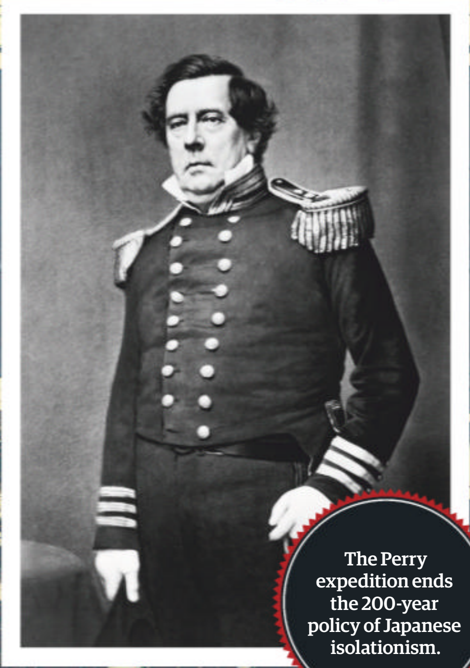
1853 PERRY EXPEDITION

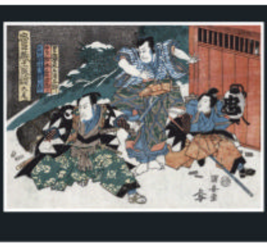
Commodore Matthew Perry of the United States Navy sails four ships to Japan as part of a diplomatic mission seeking to reestablish trade and relations with the country. Perry arrives in warships and uses 'gunboat diplomacy' to ensure his demands are met.



The Perry expedition ends the 200-year policy of Japanese isolationism.

47 RONIN 1701

The 47 ronin of Asano Naganori avenge their master's death, causing a scandal for the shogunate. They are ordered to die by hara-kiri – ritual suicide.

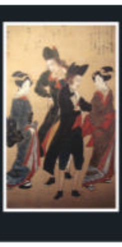


HOEI ERUPTION 1709

Mount Fuji erupts, leaving a huge crater in the mountain's side. Hundreds of tons of dust blanket Edo, over 100km away.

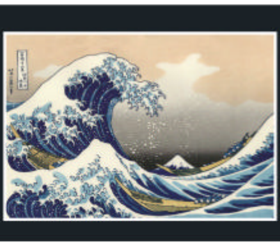
RANGAKU 1720

Following the loosening of restrictions, Japanese scholars take an interest in Dutch culture and knowledge, a study known as rangaku.



1782

1808



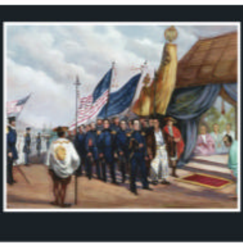
HOKUSAI PAINTS THE GREAT WAVE OFF KANAGAWA 1831

Woodblock artist Katsushika Hokusai paints his most famous work of art. He uses 'Prussian Blue' dye in the print, imported from Europe.

1853

TREATY OF KANAGAWA 1854

The Treaty of Kanagawa is signed. Perry is unable to secure a trade deal, though he does succeed in establishing American coaling ports and a promise of security for US whalers.



TOKUGAWA YOSHINOBU RESTORES POWER TO THE EMPEROR 1867

The 15th and the last Tokugawa, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, steps down and hands over his powers, hoping to maintain some degree of influence.

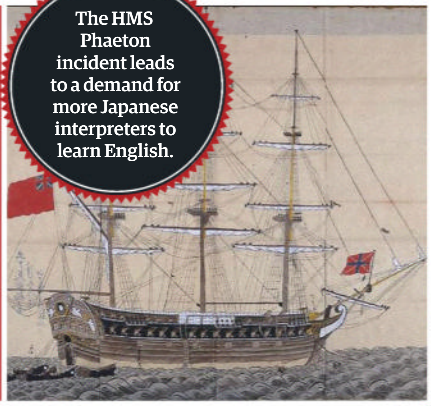
1868

1782 TENMEI FAMINE

After a harsh winter and a number of volcanic eruptions, a severe famine occurs, primarily in northern Japan. The shogunate provides little assistance to peasants and farmers and about one million people are thought perish from starvation.

1808 HMS PHAETON

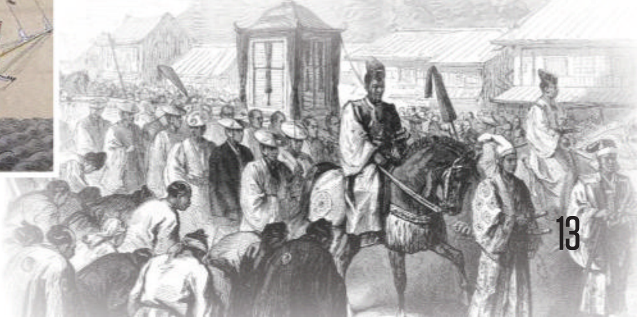
The British ship HMS Phaeton enters the harbour at Nagasaki to attack Dutch merchant vessels. They demand food and water, threatening to fire cannons upon Nagasaki if it's not provided. With few men stationed there and inadequate defences, the Japanese are helpless.



The HMS Phaeton incident leads to a demand for more Japanese interpreters to learn English.

1868 MEIJI RESTORATION

The Edo period comes to an end in a coup d'etat led by a group of samurai. It sees the 17-year-old Emperor Mutsuhito (known by the reign name of Meiji) take the throne. Despite a turbulent beginning, Meiji rules until his death in 1912.



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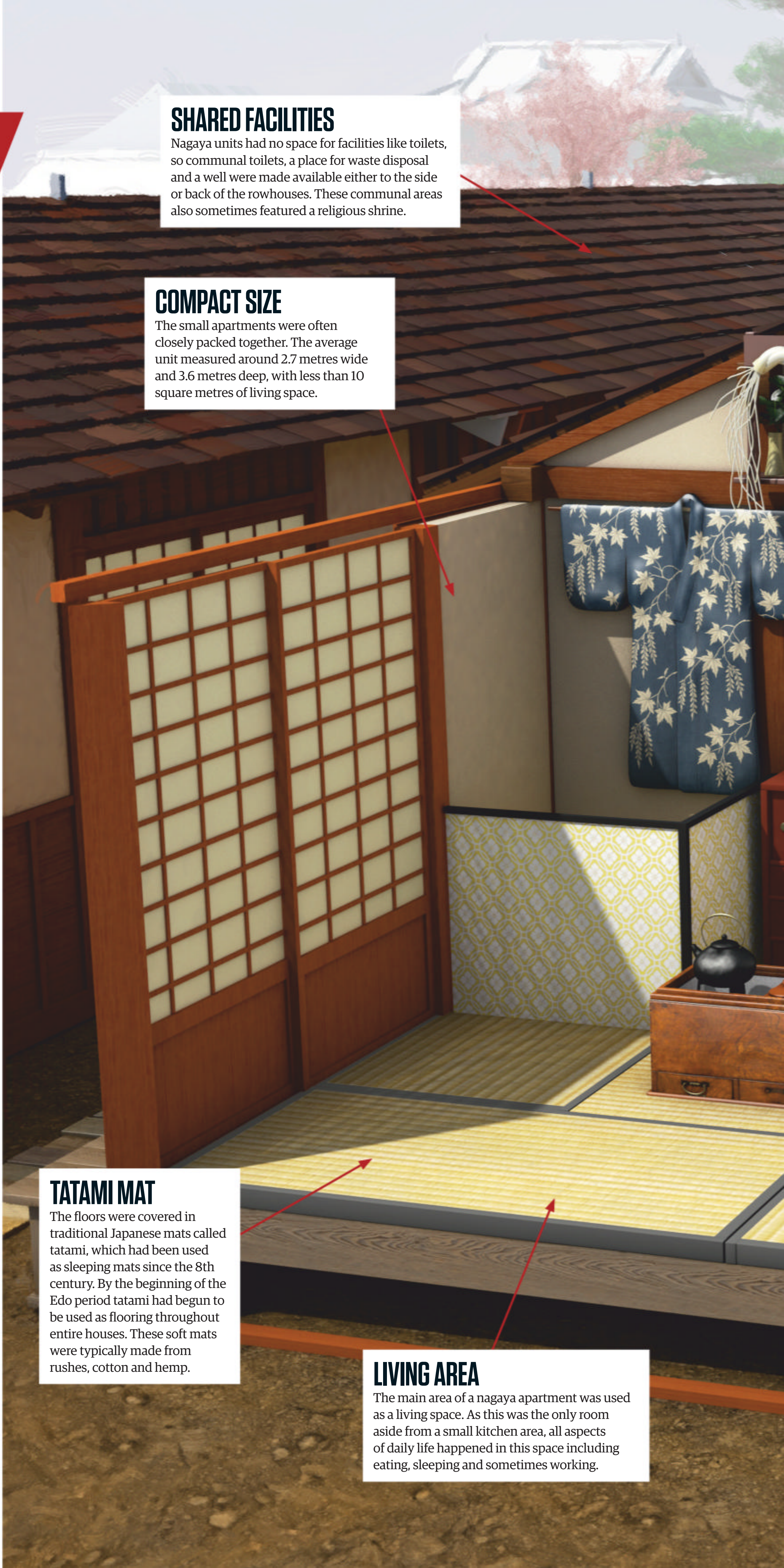
NAGAYA ROWHOUSE

Edo Japan
c.1603 - present

During the Edo period, residences were built to house the lower strata of Japanese society. These homes tended to be constructed in areas surrounding castles and mansions belonging to prominent warriors, and initially served as housing for lower-class samurai. Known as nagaya, these houses were long dwellings, also known as rowhouses, which were split into several smaller apartments. Each of these apartments consisted of a single room with a compact kitchen towards the back. The nagaya units were typically rented and, while originally intended for samurai, were later also occupied by artisans, craftsmen and other lower ranking citizens. Wealthier tenants could rent the more expensive and desirable units that faced the street.

Nagaya apartments offered affordable and sustainable living to people in big cities, similar to tenement or terraced housing in the UK. While families did live in these small nagaya units, many apartments were occupied by single tenants. Facilities like toilets, wells and waste disposal areas, as well as communal baths known as sento, were shared between apartments.

Nagaya housing was built to solve the Edo period's housing shortage as urban populations increased. Many such houses existed in Japan's cities until the Second World War, when a significant number of nagaya homes were destroyed. Some Edo dwellings survived the conflict, though many more were demolished following the war to make way for newer housing. In recent years the design of nagaya rowhouses has inspired modern redevelopment and construction as architects try to refresh the practical, space-saving nagaya style to suit today's housing needs.



SHARED FACILITIES

Nagaya units had no space for facilities like toilets, so communal toilets, a place for waste disposal and a well were made available either to the side or back of the rowhouses. These communal areas also sometimes featured a religious shrine.

COMPACT SIZE

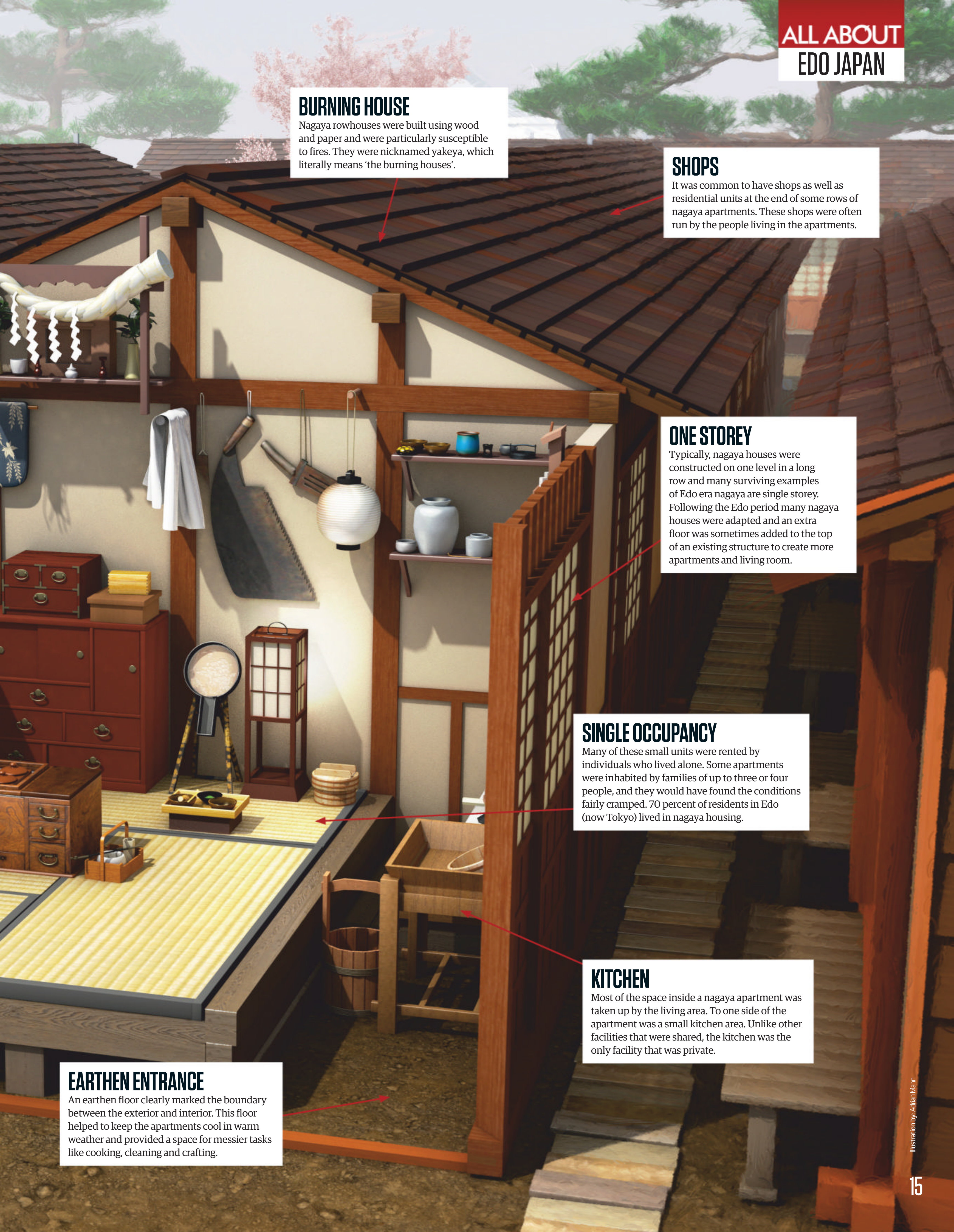
The small apartments were often closely packed together. The average unit measured around 2.7 metres wide and 3.6 metres deep, with less than 10 square metres of living space.

TATAMI MAT

The floors were covered in traditional Japanese mats called tatami, which had been used as sleeping mats since the 8th century. By the beginning of the Edo period tatami had begun to be used as flooring throughout entire houses. These soft mats were typically made from rushes, cotton and hemp.

LIVING AREA

The main area of a nagaya apartment was used as a living space. As this was the only room aside from a small kitchen area, all aspects of daily life happened in this space including eating, sleeping and sometimes working.



BURNING HOUSE

Nagaya rowhouses were built using wood and paper and were particularly susceptible to fires. They were nicknamed yakeya, which literally means 'the burning houses'.

SHOPS

It was common to have shops as well as residential units at the end of some rows of nagaya apartments. These shops were often run by the people living in the apartments.

ONE STOREY

Typically, nagaya houses were constructed on one level in a long row and many surviving examples of Edo era nagaya are single storey. Following the Edo period many nagaya houses were adapted and an extra floor was sometimes added to the top of an existing structure to create more apartments and living room.

SINGLE OCCUPANCY

Many of these small units were rented by individuals who lived alone. Some apartments were inhabited by families of up to three or four people, and they would have found the conditions fairly cramped. 70 percent of residents in Edo (now Tokyo) lived in nagaya housing.

KITCHEN

Most of the space inside a nagaya apartment was taken up by the living area. To one side of the apartment was a small kitchen area. Unlike other facilities that were shared, the kitchen was the only facility that was private.

EARTHEN ENTRANCE

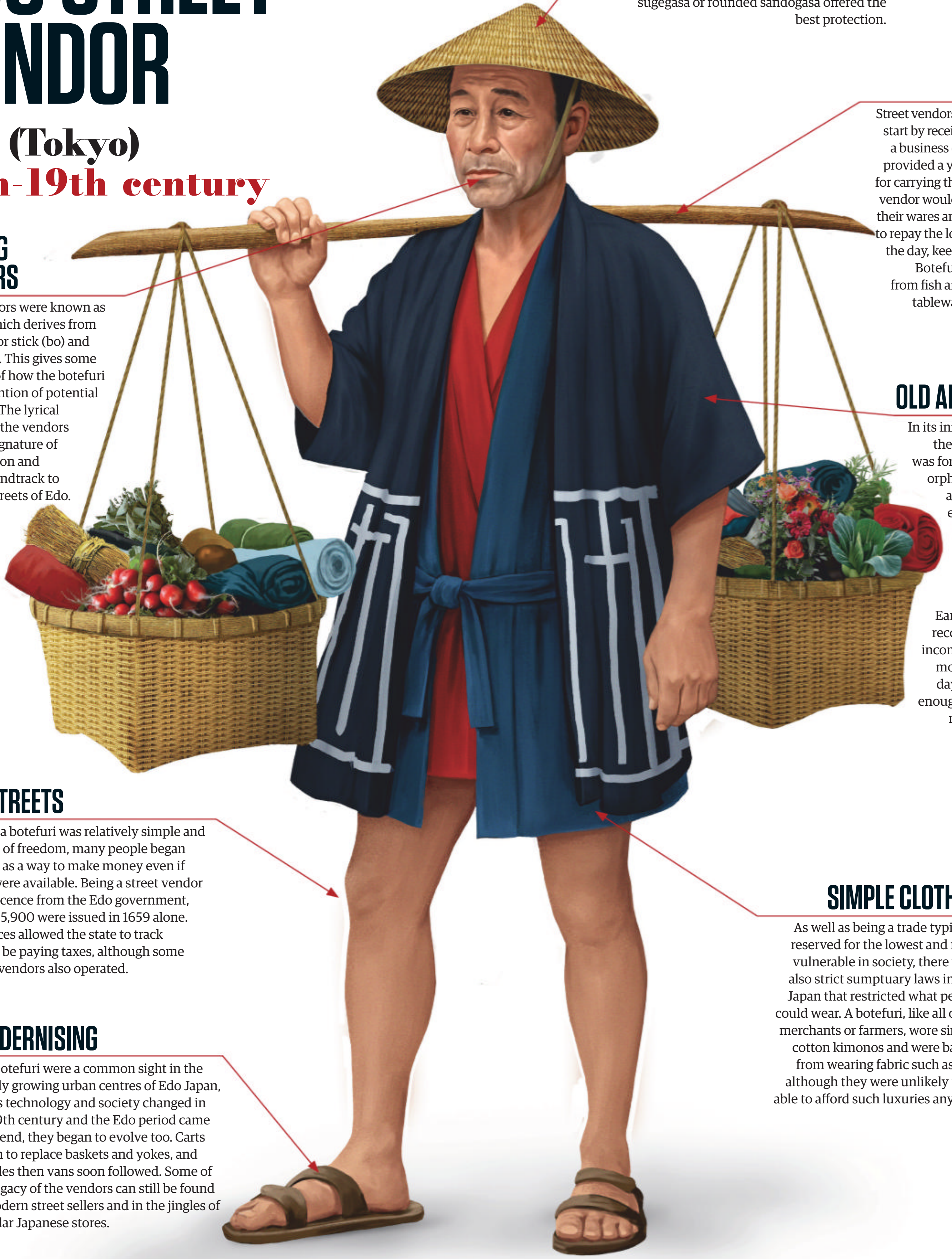
An earthen floor clearly marked the boundary between the exterior and interior. This floor helped to keep the apartments cool in warm weather and provided a space for messier tasks like cooking, cleaning and crafting.

Illustration by: Adrian Mann

Anatomy

EDO STREET VENDOR

Edo (Tokyo)
17th-19th century



SINGING VENDORS

Street vendors were known as botefuri, which derives from the words for stick (bo) and wave (furu). This gives some indication of how the botefuri got the attention of potential customers. The lyrical chanting of the vendors became a signature of the profession and was the soundtrack to life in the streets of Edo.

BUSY STREETS

Since being a botefuri was relatively simple and offered a lot of freedom, many people began to take it up as a way to make money even if other jobs were available. Being a street vendor required a licence from the Edo government, and around 5,900 were issued in 1659 alone. These licences allowed the state to track who should be paying taxes, although some unlicensed vendors also operated.

MODERNISING

The botefuri were a common sight in the rapidly growing urban centres of Edo Japan, but as technology and society changed in the 19th century and the Edo period came to an end, they began to evolve too. Carts began to replace baskets and yokes, and bicycles then vans soon followed. Some of the legacy of the vendors can still be found in modern street sellers and in the jingles of popular Japanese stores.

KASA

Edo street vendors could expect to be standing and walking through the hot summer streets all day, so a straw hat like this, called a kasa, was essential. Different shapes of hat could indicate someone's profession. For vendors, the conical sugegasa or rounded sandogasa offered the best protection.

YOKE

Street vendors would get their start by receiving a loan from a business owner, who also provided a yoke and baskets for carrying the products. The vendor would head off to sell their wares and was expected to repay the loan at the end of the day, keeping any profits. Botefuri sold anything from fish and vegetables to tableware and brushes.

OLD AND YOUNG

In its initial conception the role of botefuri was for children, often orphaned, up to the age of 15 and the elderly from age 50 as a means to make a living when no other support was available. Early 19th century records indicate an income of about 580 mon (7,000 yen) a day was possible - enough to live on but not much more.

SIMPLE CLOTHES

As well as being a trade typically reserved for the lowest and most vulnerable in society, there were also strict sumptuary laws in Edo Japan that restricted what people could wear. A botefuri, like all other merchants or farmers, wore simple cotton kimonos and were barred from wearing fabric such as silk, although they were unlikely to be able to afford such luxuries anyway.

Illustration: Kevin McGivern

Historical Treasures

DECORATIVE TSUBA

How an important practical feature of a sword became a decorative item

Japan, 18th century

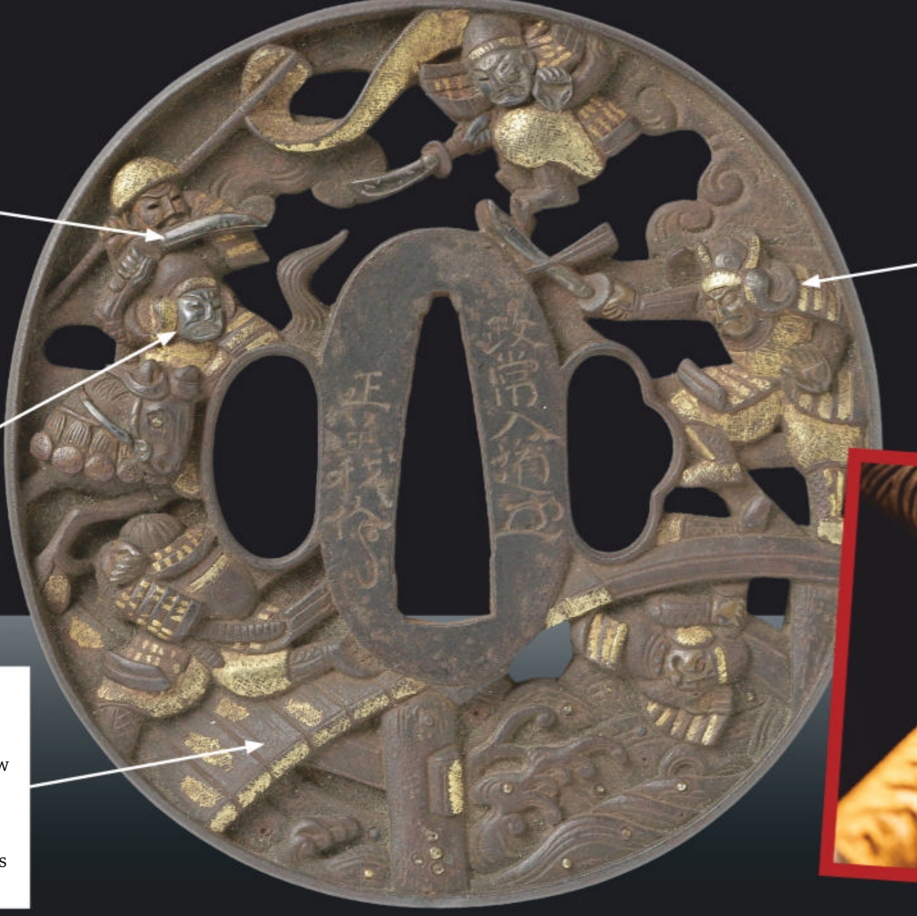
A tsuba is a hand guard that's placed between the blade and hilt of a sword. It's designed to protect the hands of a sword wielder from an opponent's blade sliding down their own and cutting them, or from their own hand slipping up onto the blade. The tsuba was also important for balancing the weight of the weapon. There are examples of tsuba in Japan dating back to the 5th century.

Given a sword's obviously violent purpose, a tsuba was a very practical and functional element, but this developed significantly in the Edo period as the samurai class, typically the only people permitted to carry swords, transitioned from being active warriors to being social elites. Swords were no longer simply practical weapons but were expensive status symbols and they began to be decorated accordingly.

The Tokugawa Shogunate ruled Japan from 1603 to 1868 and during this period the samurai became the nation's political leadership and civil servants. With this power and influence often came great wealth, which was then passed down through the generations. Decorated tsuba were common among the feudal lords, and they often added gold inlay to their weapons and armour to display their wealth and power.

This became more accessible to everyday samurai in the Edo Period for two reasons. First, those who managed to build their financial standing in the years of relative peace could afford to spend money on such luxury items. Second, the swordsmiths who were skilled in making such items had more time in these years of relative peace to manufacture more ornate tsuba and other items, without the pressure of impending conflict.

As with the example shown here from the later years of the Tokugawa Shogunate, scenes of famous battles and legends were common among the more decorative hand guards. These might then be passed down through the family as priceless heirlooms. The Meiji Restoration in 1868 saw the samurai abolished and sword-wearing outlawed, and while tsuba production declined it didn't end entirely. Some swordsmiths made even more elaborate hand guards for purely decorative purposes, which were sometimes sold abroad.



EXPERT CRAFT

This tsuba dates to between 1750 and 1800 and is believed to be the handiwork of Sadashichi Masayoshi, one of two names inscribed into the piece. He studied with Masakata, a master in the Bushū-Itō school that specialised in teaching the making of these hand guards.

PRECIOUS METAL

The guard is primarily made from iron, but its details are highlighted with other metals. Copper, gold and silver have all been used to add differentiation between the characters and environment on the guard, with armour and weapons all depicted in different materials.

BRIDGE BATTLE

The scene depicted on this tsuba is from the Battle of Uji in 1180, which saw members of the Taira and Minamoto clans clash near Kyoto. This particular fight is taking place on the Uji Bridge, which remains one of the oldest bridges in the country, crossing the River Uji.

HAND-CARVED

The tsuba would have been gradually cut and carved by hand to shape it and imprint this scene into the surface. Depending on the complexity of the design and metals being used, the process could take many months to complete.

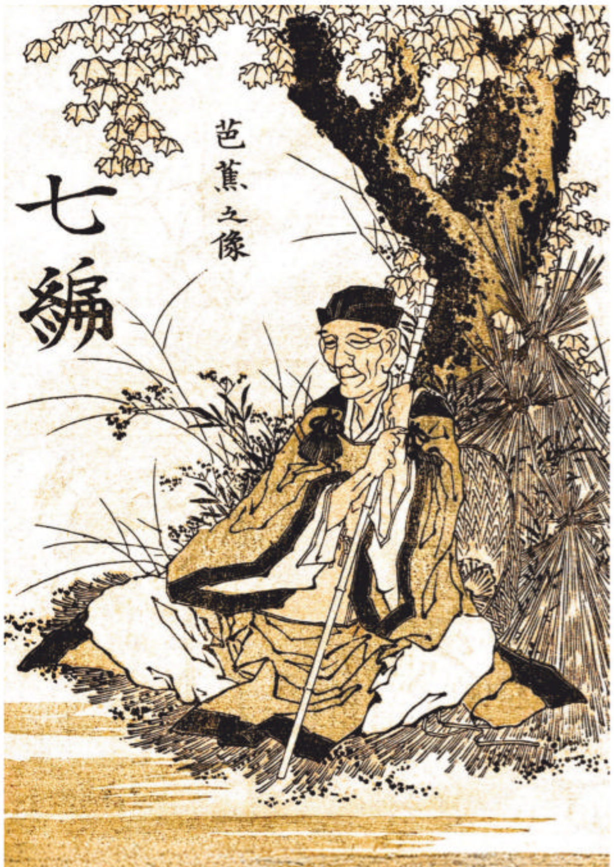
How the tsuba sits in a traditional katana

All images: © Getty Images

Hall of Fame

EDO ARTISTS AND WRITERS

The Tokugawa Shogunate oversaw an era of great creative works that inspire to this day



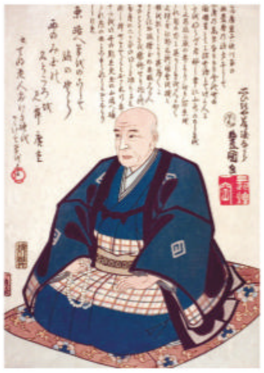
Matsuo Bashō

1644-94

One of Japan's most celebrated and beloved poets, Bashō was a pioneer of the format of writing within 17 syllables, known as haiku, elevating the style. Before becoming a writer he worked in the service of a feudal lord in Ueno, befitting his samurai upbringing, but after his master's death in 1666 he moved to the imperial capital to pursue writing. He published his first verse in 1679, previewing his haiku form that spoke to Zen ideals and deeper artistic expression. He began travelling around Japan from 1684, composing as he went, writing some of his best-known poems about what he observed and felt.

Bashō combined haiku and prose in his travel writing, creating a literary style that is known as haibun.

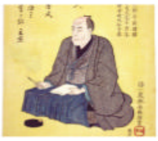
UTAGAWA HIROSHIGE 1797 – 1858



A renowned wood-block artist, Hiroshige was one of the Japanese printers whose work was exported to the West in the 19th century. He inherited the role of fire warden from his father at a young age, but in 1811 began studying under ukiyo-e master Utagawa Toyohiro. It was from this school that he developed his style for depicting beautiful landscapes. Over the years he created many studies of the people, plants and environments of his nation.

UTAGAWA KUNIYOSHI

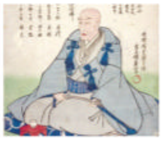
1798 – 1861



One of the most dramatic and colourful print artists to emerge from this period, Kuniyoshi studied under Utagawa Toyokuni and is best known for his many pictures of famous Japanese warriors. Like many other ukiyo-e artists, he was also happy to depict so-called lower echelons of society such as actors and to portray popular ghosts. One of his most provocative works is *Takiyasha the Witch and the Skeleton Spectre.*

UTAGAWA KUNISADA

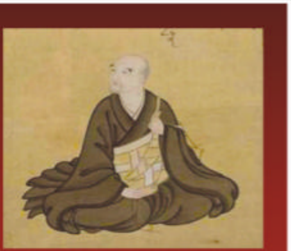
1786 – 1865



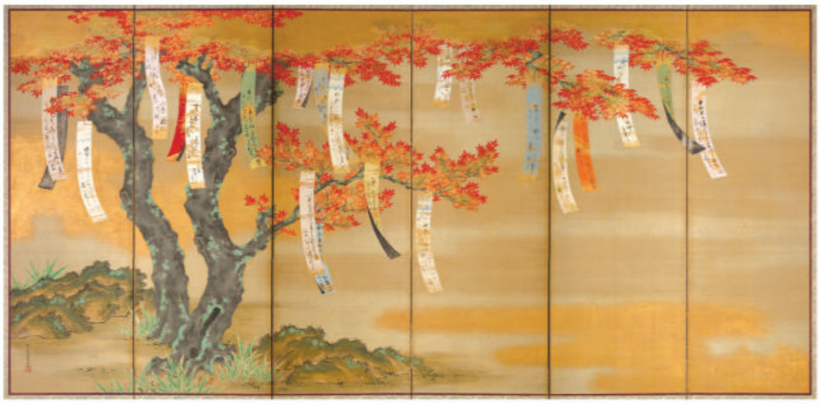
Kunisada was a student of Utagawa Toyokuni and had a rivalry with fellow graduate of that school Kuniyoshi. He was one of the most popular artists of his era and one of the most prolific, becoming particularly well known for his images of kabuki actors and of women. His bold use of colours and fine details, especially in fabrics, made his work both sensuous and striking.

Tosa Mitsuoki

1617-91

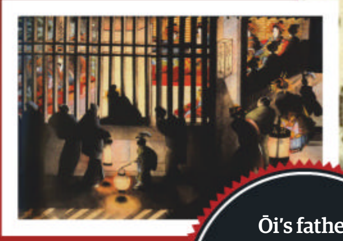


Unlike some of the other artists here, Mitsuoki developed his skills away from the imperial glare of Edo, having left Sakai (just south of Osaka) and moved to Kyoto aged about 17. He came from a long lineage of artists with their own school, but this had fallen out of favour. In Kyoto he built up the Tosa School reputation again and was made court painter in 1654, reviving a role that had long been in his family. His delicate works, drawing from Chinese traditions as well as those of his family, still retain an ethereal beauty.



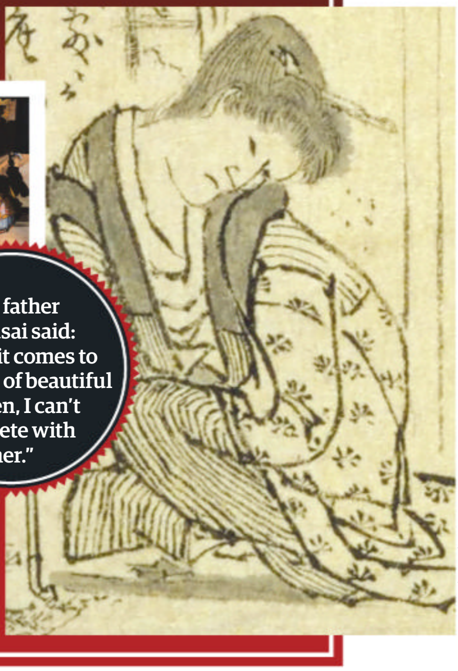
Katsushika Ōi

1800-66



Ōi was the daughter of famous artist Hokusai from his second marriage and is thought to have had a close and playful relationship with her father. Her taken artist name of 'Ōi' (she was born as Eijo) is a reference to how her father would call for her, shouting 'oi oi' (meaning 'hey, you') to get her attention. Ōi showed herself to be the most skilled of Hokusai's children and assisted him in his work for the last 20 years of his life, developing her own work at the same time. Some of her work has a depth and quality of shading that is unusual for this era.

> Ōi's father Hokusai said: "When it comes to paintings of beautiful women, I can't compete with her."



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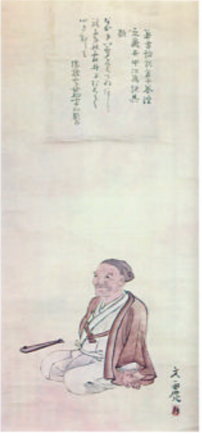
TSUKIOKA YOSHITOSHI

1839-92

Yoshitoshi came of age in the last years of the Edo era and is one of the last great masters of ukiyo-e. He was the son of a merchant who had managed to buy his way into the samurai class. Yoshitoshi apprenticed with Kuniyoshi from age 11, building on this style. In his work you can see the changing interests and concerns of the people of Japan as they were fascinated by the outside world and then became concerned for the loss of its old ways. Unlike many artists in his field, Yoshitoshi also liked to draw from real life for his work.

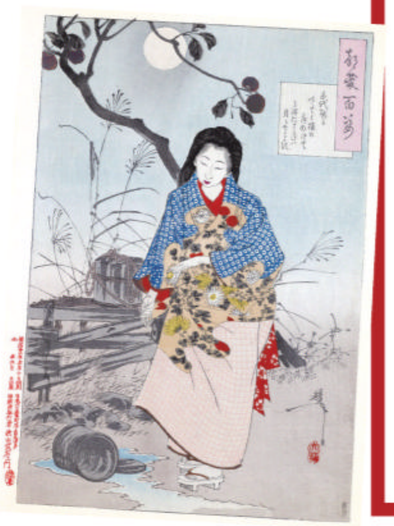
UEDA AKINARI 1734 – 1809

Ueda was a writer of popular fiction, inspired by the ghost tales of Chinese and Japanese legend, and he managed to infuse his work with a great deal of artistry, uncommon in such pulpy material. In this his writing has a lot in common with some of the ukiyo-e artists here. His story collections harkened back to classical literature while offering engaging and approachable subject matter. Despite his successes, his old age was spent in poverty.



KAGA NO CHIYO 1703-75

Also known as Chiyo-jo, she was the daughter of a scroll mounter who is said to have fallen in love with his collection of paintings and calligraphy. She began to compose her own haikus as young as six years old. Her talent was recognised at the age of 17 and she devoted herself to writing, save for a brief period in her 30s when she had to look after the family business. A prolific and celebrated poet, Chiyo-jo is credited with composing around 1,900 haiku.



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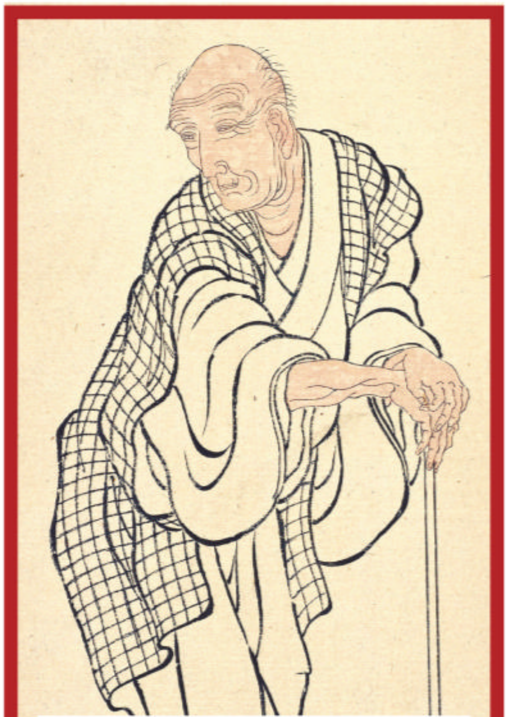

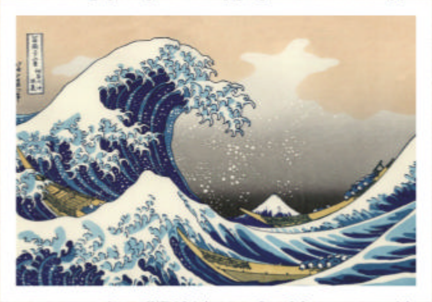

Katsushika Hokusai

1760 – 1849

One of Japan's most famous artists, Hokusai was a master of ukiyo-e, art printed on screens and wood blocks. Born in the Honjo quarter of Edo, he began drawing at five and painting by six. He apprenticed at a lending bookshop in his mid-teens, where he learned about wood-block engraving. Among the thousands of paintings and prints Hokusai made, as well as the illustrations for almost 270 books that he's credited with, his most famous work is *Under the Wave of Kanagawa* (better known as *The Great Wave*), part of his most popular print series from 1830-32, *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji*.

> As well as a ukiyo-e, Hokusai developed the concept of Manga in his sketchbooks full of studies of people and animals.

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THE RISE OF EDO ART

Christine Guth explains why this period created some of the most striking and lasting works of Japanese art

Christine Guth is an expert on the history of Japanese art and has taught at Princeton, Pennsylvania, Harvard, Stanford and Berkley universities. Among her many publications is *Craft Culture in Early Modern Japan*.

What differentiates Edo art from that of previous periods?

The art of the Edo period is distinct from that of earlier periods in three significant ways, first and foremost because of the country's rapid urbanisation. This period saw the growth of three influential urban centres: Edo, where the shogun resided; Kyoto, where the emperor and court resided; and Osaka, the country's mercantile centre. Each had its own distinctive character. To this influential triad one could arguably add Nagasaki, the port on the southern island of Kyushu where trade with China and Holland was conducted. It was the destination for many artists seeking glimpses of Chinese and European culture. Domestic tourism boomed during the Edo period and travel was an important visual stimulus for many Japanese artists.

With a population of over one million in the 18th century, Edo, (now Tokyo) was larger than London. While the shogunate dictated many forms of official artistic expression from this metropolis, it was not able to control the many alternative forms of expression that bubbled up from below, both from within the city and beyond. One reason for this was the high rate of literacy across class and gender that was a second distinguishing feature of the period. We know that men, women and children were voracious readers from the extraordinary volume of woodblock-printed books, many with colour illustrations, published during this era. These included prose and poetry, to be sure, but also books on botany, encyclopedia, guides to shopping, and fairy tales for children, among many others. The publishing industry was a particularly conspicuous manifestation of the flourishing commercial culture that was a third distinguishing feature of the Edo period.

One of the largest developments during this period is the rise of woodblock prints, can you tell us a little about this?

The development of woodblock print technology led to fundamental changes in how people related to one another across time and space. Although most Euro-American viewers now appreciate prints primarily for their pictorial content, these fuse word and image in highly creative ways that were appreciated by viewers of the time. Prints are full of topical visual and verbal puns that are no longer easy to decipher. In the Edo period, they were the preferred medium of artistic expression for artists such as Hokusai and Hiroshige, but also served to spread information essential to daily life and to advertise products such as fashions, cosmetics and even toothpaste. Most prints were produced in metropolitan centres, but itinerant salesmen made them available around the country, in the process helping to produce a sense of shared national culture.

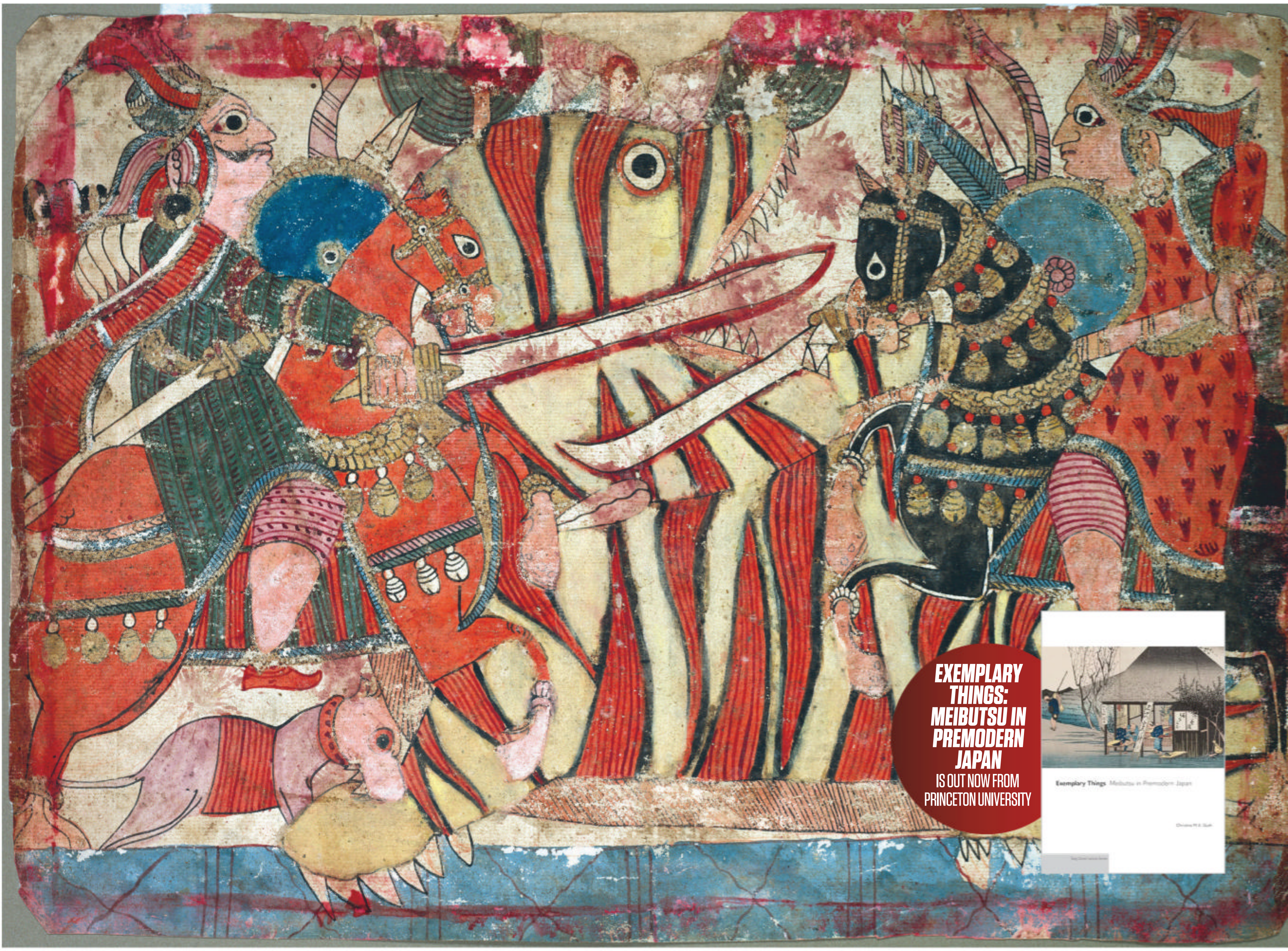
Although woodblock print artists such as Hokusai and Hiroshige are now celebrities, it's important to keep in mind that prints were actually collaborative enterprises. The artist created the image that was carved into the woodblock, but the actual carving, printing and publishing was carried out by others. The quality of the final product was determined as much by the skill of the carver as the talent of the artist - so much so that some artists only wanted their work entrusted to certain carvers.

RIGHT Blue and white porcelain was commonplace during the Edo period

Bunjinga was another popular art form during this time. What did this genre involve?

Literati painting, bunjinga, was a genre of ink painting of Chinese inspiration that enjoyed widespread popularity during the 18th and 19th centuries. It prioritised personal expression, downplaying the importance of formal artistic training. Consequently, its practice attracted many amateur

Headshot: © Christine Guth



EXEMPLARY THINGS: MEIBUTSU IN PREMODERN JAPAN IS OUT NOW FROM PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

ABOVE As well as using brushes, Ike Taiga also painted with his fingernails

"Textiles and ceramics were important forms of artistic expression during the Edo period"

painters. They took as their subjects imagined Chinese landscapes and literary themes, and often combined these with poetic inscriptions written in fine calligraphy. Many successful literati painters defied social norms and were appreciated for their idiosyncratic painting: Ike Taiga, for instance, painted with brushes but also with his fingernails. Because literati painting blurs the boundaries between amateur and professional painting and writing that were part of the European understanding of the fine arts, unlike woodblock prints, it was not widely appreciated outside of Japan until the mid-20th century.

What were some other developments during this time?

Textiles and ceramics were hugely important forms of artistic expression during the Edo period, with porcelains already produced on an industrial scale. Many techniques for decorating textiles were developed besides weaving. Most notable among these was a form of paste-resist dyeing known as yūzen that made it possible for artists to create complex pictorial designs. Since the kimono is essentially a flat, untailored garment, it lends itself for use as a canvas featuring motifs and compositions similar to those figuring in paintings. Stonewares were produced in kilns throughout the country, and the artists Kōrin and Kenzan helped make Kyoto especially famous for these with colourful overglaze enamel decor. Potters in Arita, in northwestern Kyushu, made high-quality porcelains under the auspices of the local feudal lords. The finest were reserved for official gift-giving, but over the course of the Edo period blue and white porcelain dishes became commonplace among all social strata. Some were also exported to Europe.

What was it that allowed art to flourish?

Rising standards of living contributed to growing demand for and consumption of a wide range of cultural goods and services. People of all classes engaged on some level in the practices of painting, calligraphy, poetry composition and the tea ceremony – these activities were believed to develop the good taste and behaviour required of a cultivated person.

All images: © Getty Images

EDO CASTLES

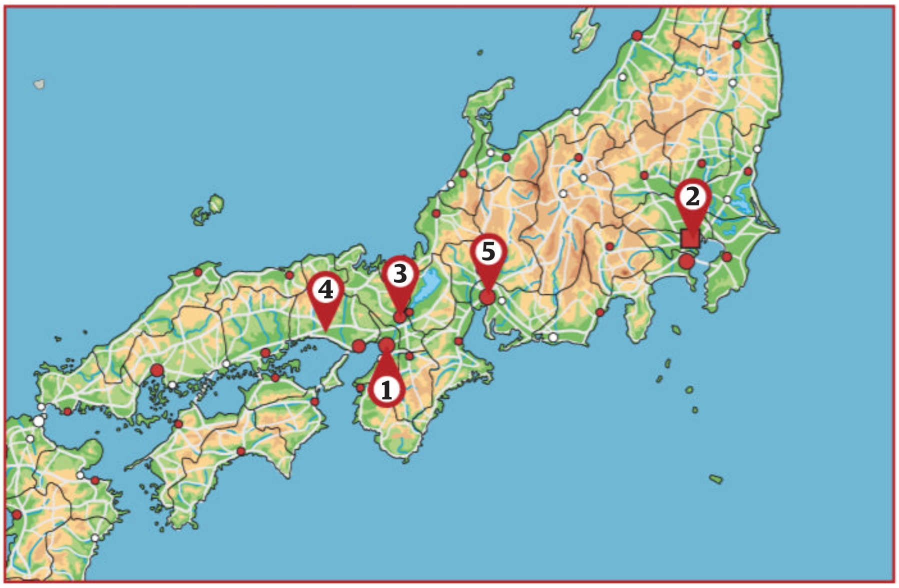
Many of Japan's most significant fortresses and palaces played a central role in the Edo period

1 OSAKA CASTLE

OSAKA

Predating the Edo period, Osaka Castle as it originally appeared was first constructed by the warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1583 and completed in 1598. In 1614 it became the site of the Siege of Osaka as the Toyotomi clan secreted themselves inside and attempted to hold off the attacking forces of Tokugawa Ieyasu. But the summer offensive of 1615 saw Ieyasu victorious and the castle was destroyed. Following the eradication of his enemies, Ieyasu commissioned a new fortress to be built on the site.

In 1665 disaster struck when the tenshu (main tower) was hit by lightning and burnt down. During the Boshin War, Imperialist troops used the site as a garrison and it received further damage. Beginning in the 1930s the castle began to be recognised as an important historic monument and underwent extensive reconstruction. Now a popular tourist attraction, the only recent attack was from Godzilla when the castle was featured in the 1955 film *Godzilla Raids Again*.

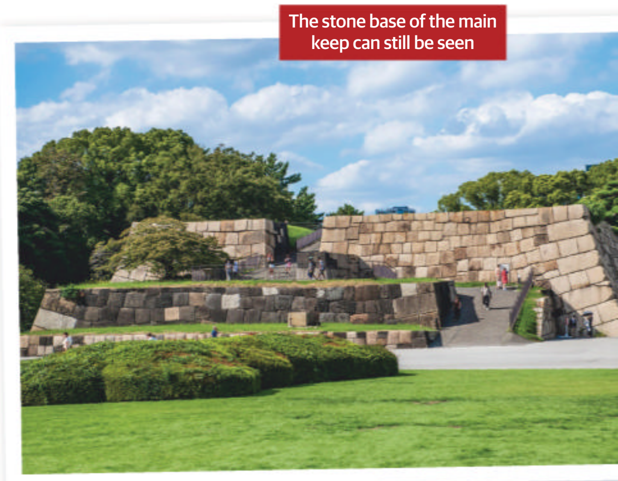


Osaka is the third-largest city in Japan

Osaka Castle has millions of visitors every year

2 EDO CASTLE

CHIYODA, TOKYO



The stone base of the main keep can still be seen

This castle predates Tokugawa Ieyasu's rise as shogun by nearly 200 years. His decision to make the city of Edo the centre of his powerbase saw the castle become integral to the Japanese state. For the rest of their reign the Tokugawa shoguns resided in the castle, ruling over their dominions. It is arguably one of the most historically important castles in all of Japan.

Very little of the fortress remains today. Over the centuries the castle was all but destroyed by a series of disasters and fires, the keep being lost in 1657 and the main palace in 1863. In 1888, the emperor of Japan constructed a new Imperial Palace on the site, although this was severely damaged during heavy bombing in the Second World War. Miraculously, some elements of the original structure still survive and visitors can see some of the original walls, moats and guard towers (including the Hyakunin Bansho Guardhouse) in an area which is now designated as a public park.

The exquisite gardens located inside the palace

One of the guard towers at Nijo Castle

3 NIJO CASTLE

KYOTO

Tokugawa Ieyasu ordered the construction of Nijo Castle in 1603 on the site of a mansion that had been home to Oda Nobunaga. It was here that Ieyasu announced himself as shogun and the castle was his residence when he was in Kyoto. The castle's main keep was struck by lightning and destroyed in 1750. Now, only the stone base remains, although another watch tower can still be seen.

There were two palaces built within the castle fortifications. In 1626, the Honmaru Palace was constructed inside the castle grounds in readiness for an imperial visit, but it was destroyed in 1788 during a catastrophic fire. Some later structures built on the site can still be seen toady. The Ninomaru Palace survives intact and is considered the only example of its kind still standing. It consists of six exquisitely decorated and interconnected rooms and is very popular with tourists.

The stunning castle gardens are also well worth a visit. There are three: Honmaru Garden, which incorporates elements from the Meiji period; Ninomaru Garden, within former second defensive circle of the castle; and Seiryu-en Garden, created by the famous Japanese garden designer Ogawa Jihei. In 2005 and 2006 the latter two were placed in the top ten of Japanese gardens.

Himeji Castle is located on Himeyama Hill

4 HIMEJI CASTLE

HIMEJI

Perhaps the most famous and widely visited ancient fortress in all of Japan, Himeji Castle dates from 1333 – 300 years before the Edo period began. The castle was completely rebuilt between 1601 and 1609, with further expansion then taking place between 1617 and 1618. The result is a vast and formidable structure, with 83 rooms, three moats and various other buildings on the site. The feudal lord Honda Tadamasa added the famous dressing tower for his daughter, Princess Sen.

Unlike other the fortresses featured here, Himeji Castle managed to survive the extensive Allied bombing campaigns of the Second World War. Still standing proud today, the castle is considered one of the finest examples of early Edo period architecture. In 1993 it became a UNESCO World Heritage site, and visitors flock from around the world to see the impressive structure and its grounds.

5 NAGOYA CASTLE

NAGOYA

In 1610 the triumphant Tokugawa Ieyasu ordered the construction of a new castle on the site of an earlier fortress inhabited by the Oda clan. The castle was completed in 1612 and throughout the rest of the Edo period remained an important residence for the Tokugawa clan. By 1615, the site was home to Hommaru Palace, where the clan members lived and worked. The town of Nagoya formed around the new structure, with the residents of nearby Kiyosu being relocated, and it's now the fourth-largest city in Japan.

The castle was bombed in 1945 during American air raids, with severe damage to the main tower keep and other areas. One of the most significant losses was Hommaru Palace, which had been designated a national treasure – it was entirely obliterated during the bombing. After the war, significant reconstruction and restoration work took place, using as much of the castle's original materials as possible.

Visitors to the castle today may not realise that some changes were incorporated not only to accommodate the castle's new role as a museum and exhibition space but also to make the new building more formidable. For example, much of the new structure uses reinforced concrete as its base. This faithful reconstruction remains a popular tourist destination.

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Nagoya Castle was completed in 1612. It was badly damaged in WWII

Hommaru Palace has been faithfully reconstructed

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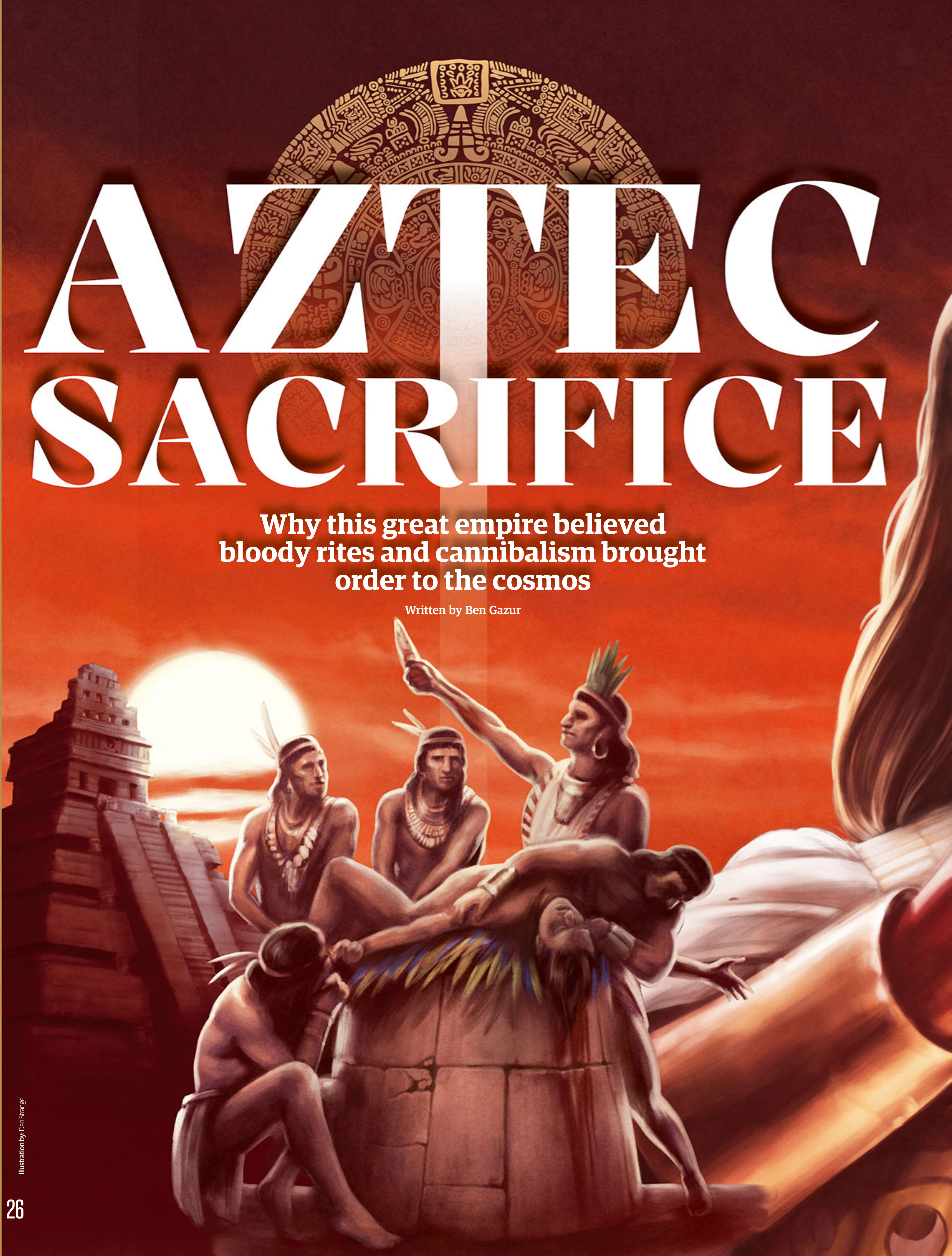

AZTEC SACRIFICE

Why this great empire believed bloody rites and cannibalism brought order to the cosmos

Written by Ben Gazur

Illustration by: Dan Strange

When the Spanish conquistadors under Hernán Cortés set out in 1519 to confront the Mexica, later referred to as the Aztecs, they were often startled to see altars displaying the grisly results of local religious practice. The stone blocks were dripping with blood and dismembered corpses were piled on top. Blood was smeared on the sides of temples.

Aztec priests sacrificed humans by slicing open their chests with stone knives and cutting out their beating hearts. Their limbs were then hacked off and eaten at feasts. While body parts of saints were routinely venerated in Catholic churches none were ever as fresh as this, and the body of Christ consumed at Communion was decidedly less gory.

That at least is the story told by chroniclers like Bernal Díaz del Castillo, who went with Cortés on this mission. Audiences in Europe were both thrilled and horrified by these accounts of native brutality and diabolical sacrifice. How much can we trust these accounts and why might the Aztecs have offered up so many human lives to their gods?

SACRIFICE FROM THE START

The origins of the Aztec empire were closely tied to sacrifice. The peoples known today as the Aztecs migrated from the north into central Mexico at some point in the late 13th century. Various tribes who spoke the Nahua language arrived and settled in the area, with the Mexica being among the last to arrive. But the Mexica would prove to be the most influential.

The migrant tribes mostly joined existing settlements in the area, with many serving as mercenaries for the leaders of the cities they joined. The Mexica persuaded Achitometl, king of

▶

"STONE ALTARS DRIPPED WITH BLOOD AND DISMEMBERED CORPSES WERE PILED ON TOP"

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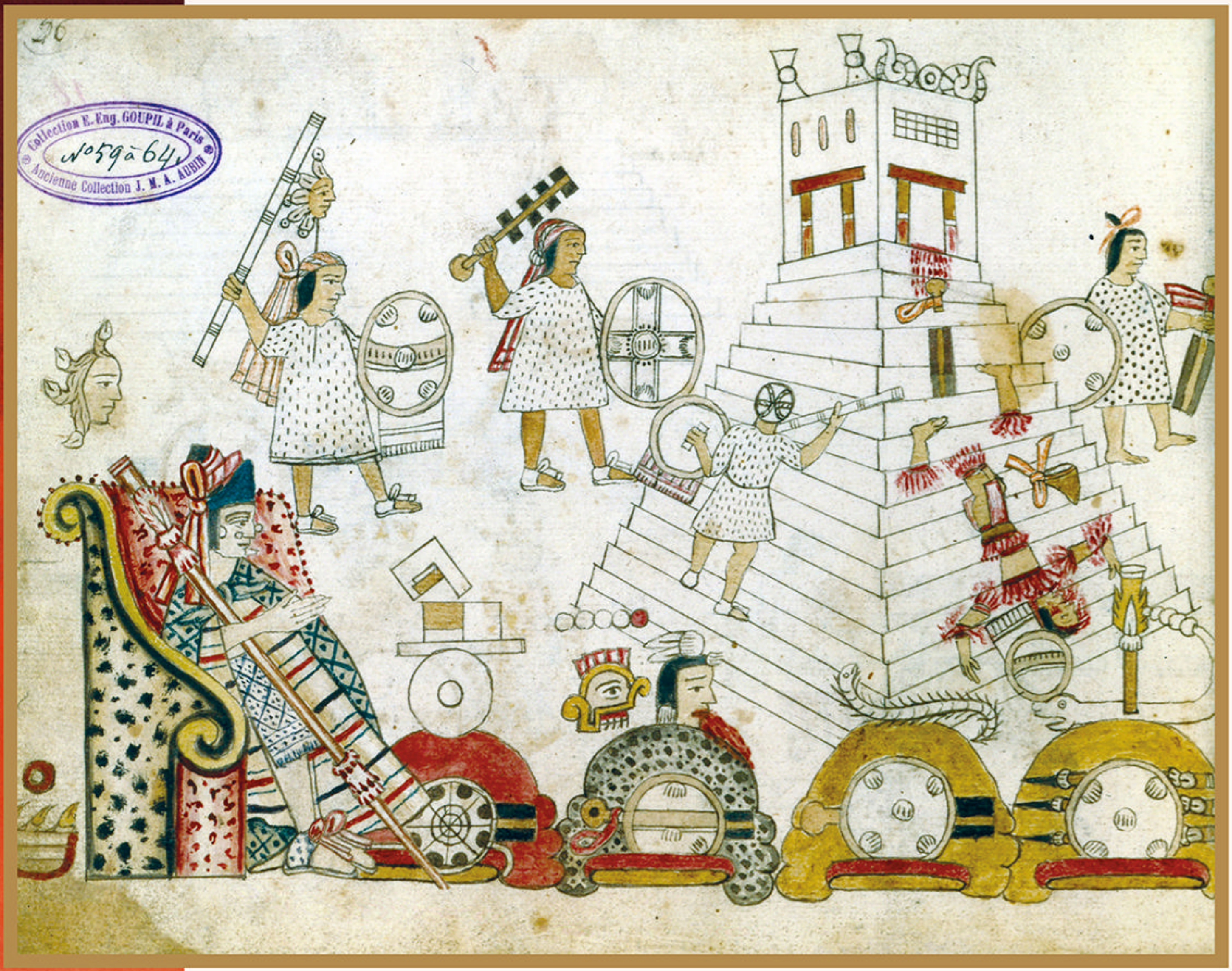
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No 59 à 64
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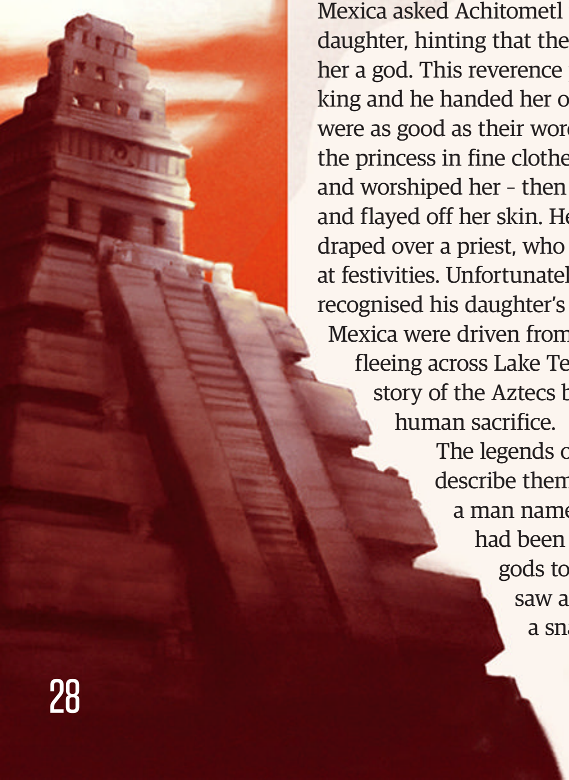
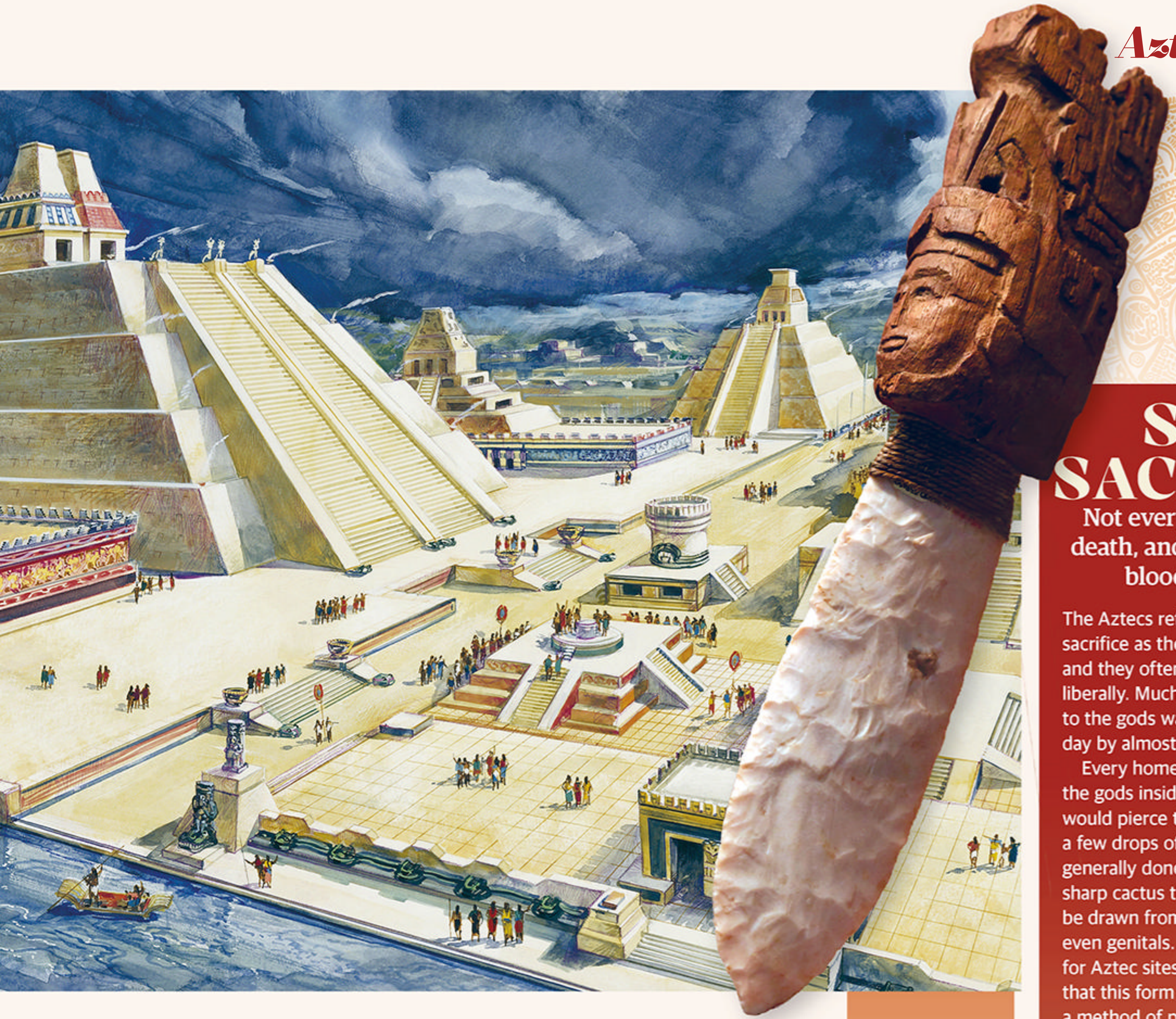
Culhuacan, to allow them to settle on a relatively desolate region of his land. They also offered to serve him as soldiers and they aided in many wars. Their success seems to have made the Mexica appear as a threat to the existing leaders of Culhuacan and tensions rose.

Perhaps to smooth the tensions, the Mexica asked Achitometl to give them his daughter, hinting that they would make her a god. This reverence pleased the king and he handed her over. The Mexica were as good as their word. They arrayed the princess in fine clothes and jewellery and worshiped her – then they killed her and flayed off her skin. Her skin was then draped over a priest, who danced around at festivities. Unfortunately, Achitometl recognised his daughter's skin and the Mexica were driven from his kingdom, fleeing across Lake Texcoco. So the story of the Aztecs begins with human sacrifice.

The legends of the Mexica describe them being led by a man named Tenoch, who had been told by the gods to settle where he saw an eagle eating a snake on top of a cactus in the middle of a lake. This omen appeared on an uninhabited island of Lake Texcoco in around 1325 and the Mexica began to construct their new home there. The image of the eagle and snake still appears in the middle of the Mexican flag today. They named this new city Tenochtitlan and it became the nucleus of the Aztec empire.

To survive the hostility of Culhuacan, the Mexica of Tenochtitlan had to accept the protection of the neighbouring city of Azcapotzalco. The rulers of Azcapotzalco dominated the region but when they assassinated the leader of Tenochtitlan the Mexica rose up in rebellion. They created a triple alliance with the cities of Texcoco and Tlacopan and sacked Azcapotzalco.





"THE PRIESTS OF THE AZTECS SACRIFICED HUMANS BY SLICING OPEN THEIR CHESTS WITH STONE KNIVES AND CUTTING OUT THEIR BEATING HEARTS"

Tenochtitlan became the dominant power and the Aztec empire and its religious practices quickly spread.

CREATION OUT OF DEATH

It can be difficult to reconstruct Aztec beliefs because many of the sources were destroyed by Europeans after the conquests of the 16th century. What information we do have must be reconstructed from existing Aztec documents and the writings of later Europeans and Aztec descendants. The stories that survive give us a glimpse into the minds of the Aztecs.

According to Aztec religion, in the beginning there was the void, and from this the first god created himself. This god then set about creating other gods, who made the Earth and humanity. The Aztecs conceived of the universe as one where all things decay and risked returning to desolation.

One myth recounts that we now live under the fifth Sun, the previous four having died. When the fourth Sun was lost the gods had to create a new one. They did this by calling on two of their own, Tēcciztēcatl and Nanāhuātzin, to offer themselves up for sacrifice. While Tēcciztēcatl thought of himself as a glorious hero, Nanāhuātzin was humble. When the two gods stepped onto a platform over a raging fire to sacrifice themselves, however, Tēcciztēcatl's valour failed him and he could not kill himself. Nanāhuātzin stepped directly into the flames and was transformed into the brilliant Sun that shines over us today. For the Aztecs, sacrifices who went willingly to their death were honourable while those who showed any fear were treated with contempt.

▶

ABOVE-LEFT Many Aztec sacrifices took place on top of pyramid temples. The corpses were rolled down the steps

ABOVE-RIGHT The main temple complex of Tenochtitlan was mostly destroyed

ABOVE-INSET Aztec priests used sacrificial knives with stone or obsidian blades to cut open the chests of their victims

LEFT The deity Tlaltecuhtli was sacrificed by the other gods to create the create the Earth

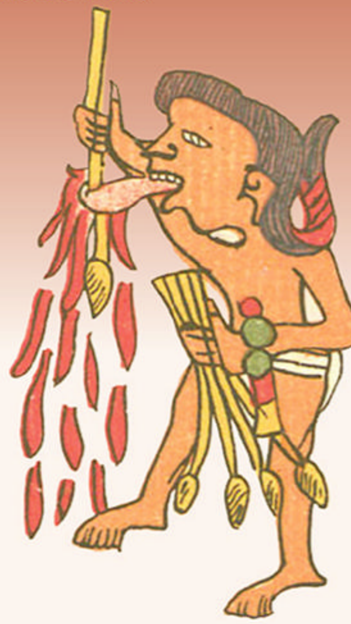
SELF SACRIFICE

Not every ritual ended in death, and many gave their blood to the gods

The Aztecs referred to blood given in sacrifice as the 'most precious water' and they often splashed it around liberally. Much of the blood offered up to the gods was willingly given every day by almost every person.

Every home had some images of the gods inside and each day people would pierce their bodies to sprinkle a few drops of their blood. This was generally done with a stone knife or sharp cactus thorn. The blood could be drawn from arms, ears, thighs and even genitals. A number of images for Aztec sites show this act. It seems that this form of 'self-sacrifice' was a method of providing the blood needed by the gods while undergoing a lesser form of dying. It was a small down-payment on the debt that all humans owed to the divinities.

Priests underwent a particularly extreme form of this ritual. After bathing and purifying themselves, the priest would puncture their flesh then drive the hollow shaft of a reed into the wound.



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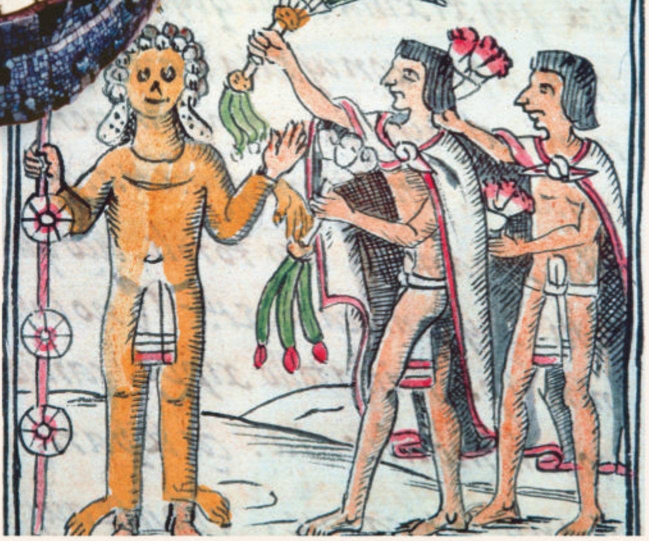
Blood was the power source for the world. Aztec myths about the creation of humanity have the first human beings made from ground-up bones and blood sacrificed by the gods. The land itself was made from the body of a monstrous crocodile-like being called Cipactli, which was torn in two by the gods. Other accounts have the Earth fashioned from the body of a deity with male and female aspects named Tlaltecuhtli. To ensure that the Earth remained in balance, this god required regular worship with blood.



INSET This mask may represent the god Nanāhuātzin, who sacrificed himself by fire to create the Fifth Sun

LEFT The skins of flayed sacrifices were sometimes worn by priests and others so they could embody aspects of the divine

BELOW Aztec temples were sometimes flanked by skull racks called tzompantli

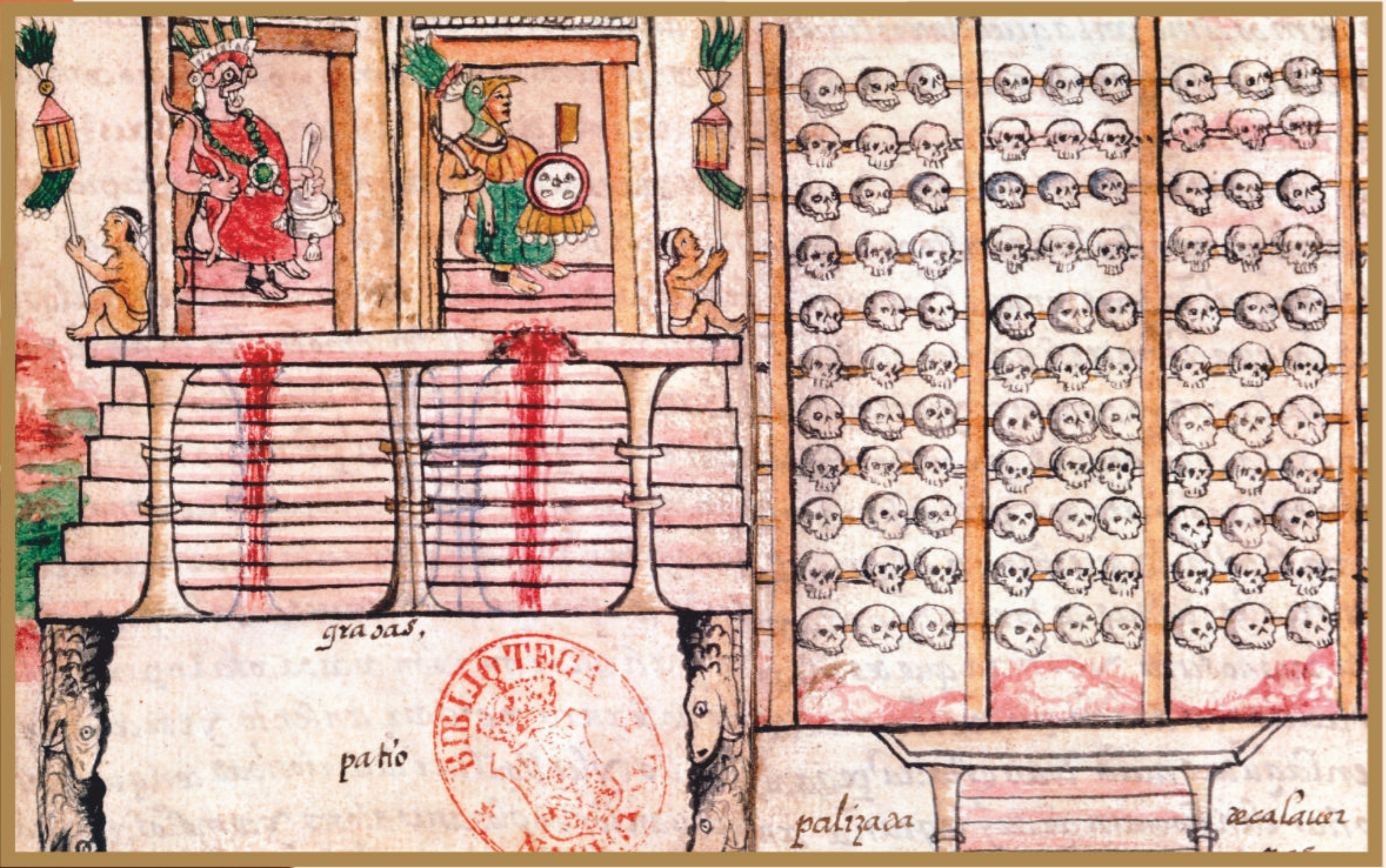
BELOW-RIGHT European illustrations of Aztec religious practices emphasised the barbarity to legitimise their colonisation of the Americas

Artistic representations of Tlaltecuhtli show it with talons on its hands and feet and a torrent of blood gushing from its grinning mouth. This god, sometimes known as the 'Earth monster', could create havoc for humanity. Their shudders were felt as earthquakes and if they chose they could wither the crops. Even more dangerously for humans, this god swallowed the Sun at night and if it was not to disappear forever Tlaltecuhtli needed to be placated. To pay for Tlaltecuhtli's death she had to be fed on human flesh to keep her content. Hearts cut from human sacrifices were often placed in a box with Tlaltecuhtli carved on the base so the Earth would receive the blood.

Sacrifice in the Aztec world view was not simply a prayer for personal benefit but rather a duty the culture had to perform to ensure its very existence.

BEFORE THE AZTECS

Aztec culture did not spring from nowhere. It was part of a culture in Mesoamerica that stretched back millennia. The Olmec civilisation, which flourished from around 1200-400 BCE, was among the first in the region to create pyramids and monumental statues, including the famous colossal stone heads standing up to 3.5m tall. The ritual burial grounds of babies have been



"THE VICTIM WAS FLAYED AND HIS HEAD CUT OFF SO THE SKULL COULD BE ADDED TO A RACK"

excavated at Olmec sites but it is unknown how the infants died or whether they could have been sacrificed.

What does seem incontrovertible is that the sacrifice of blood was key in Olmec religious practice. Olmec sites often contain stingray barbs, stone knives and shark teeth that were used to inflict cuts to release blood from willing victims. Jade examples of these piercing implements are carved with a spoon at the end to allow the blood to be collected before an offering.

The Aztecs seem to have had a special reverence for the civilisations that preceded them in Mesoamerica. Among Aztec accounts there are many mentions of the Toltecs, who they considered to be the epitome of high culture and human achievement. The Aztecs used the word tōltēcatl to refer to craftsmen and wise people. While the Aztecs created a complex historical account of the Toltecs, some modern researchers doubt there was ever a unified Toltec civilisation. Rather, Toltec may have been a catch-all term for those peoples who preceded the Aztecs in the region.

Tula, a city which reached its height around 200 years before the arrival of the Aztecs, has been identified with the putative Toltecs. The bones of 24 children have been discovered at Tula, with evidence of the victims being decapitated in what was probably a ritual sacrifice. Tula also has several chacmool statues representing warriors laying on their back with a bowl on their chest. These bowls were used to collect blood and flesh from human sacrifices.

With their admiration for the peoples who came before them the Aztecs incorporated many cultural practices and religious beliefs. One of the most bloody aspects that they embraced was the construction of tzompantli – huge racks displaying human skulls.

WALLS OF DEATH

The skull racks of the Aztecs were one of the most terrifying things the conquistadors encountered in the Americas. According to the eyewitness Andrés de Tapia, who served with Cortés in the conquest of Tenochtitlan, there was a skull rack there of monstrous size.

▶

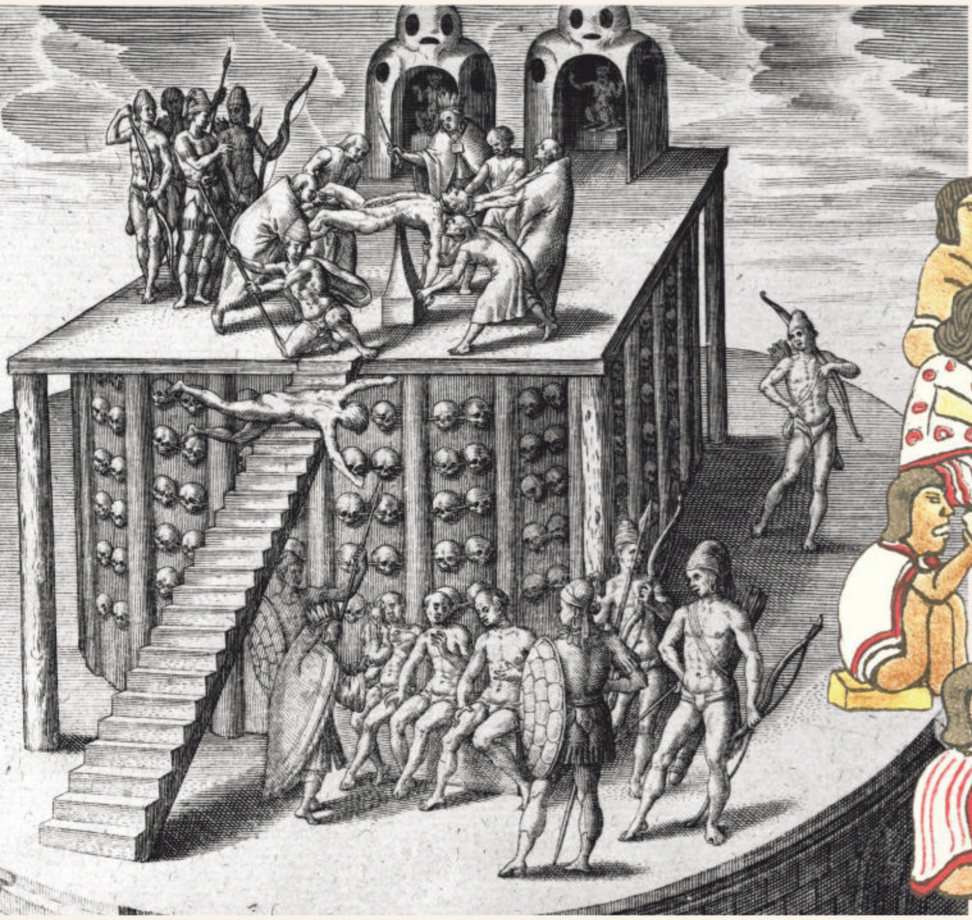
ECOLOGICAL CANNIBALISM

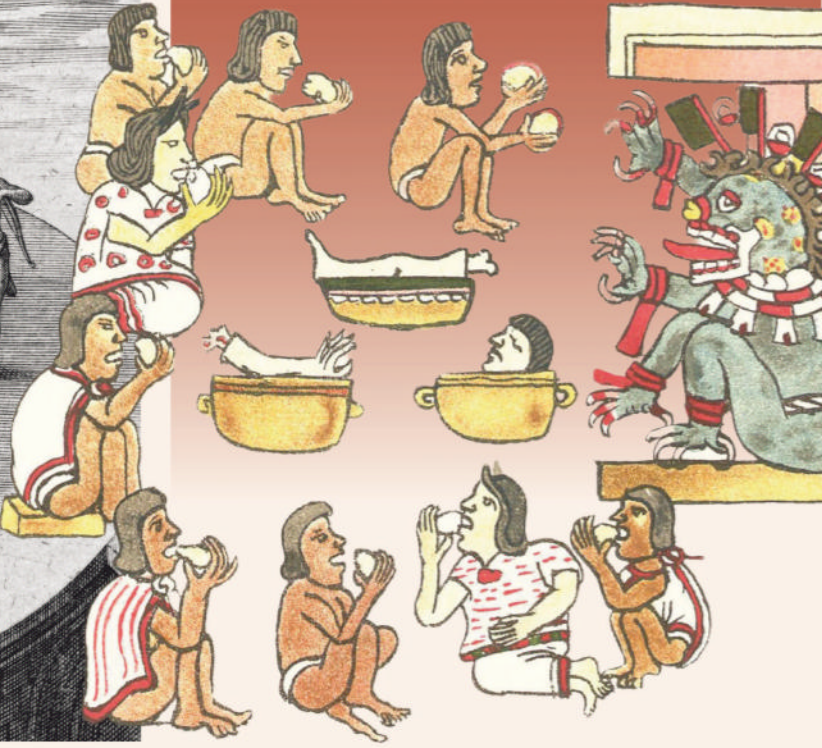
Why did the Aztecs eat the flesh of their sacrificial victims?

Almost all of our sources describe Aztec human sacrifice as being followed by acts of cannibalism in which the flesh of the victim was consumed by at least some members of society. In cases where the sacrifice took on the aspects of a deity this could be a ritual which was believed to pass some aspect of the divine into humans. Cannibalism on such a large scale is rare in history, leading scholars to wonder why it developed among the Aztecs.

One theory is that the ecology of the Aztec empire did not allow for large-scale animal farming, which may have led to a shortage of protein. Population pressures and famines might have required sourcing protein from human flesh, and sanctifying it as a religious practice removed the stigma of eating other people. However, the Aztecs had access to many sources of protein and could well have conquered other territory to acquire more arable land.

Only the social elite, particularly warriors, seem to have participated in eating the flesh of human sacrifices. This could either be because as active fighters they needed extra protein or because they were being specially rewarded for their role in bringing human sacrifices for the gods. Debate still rages and further research is required.





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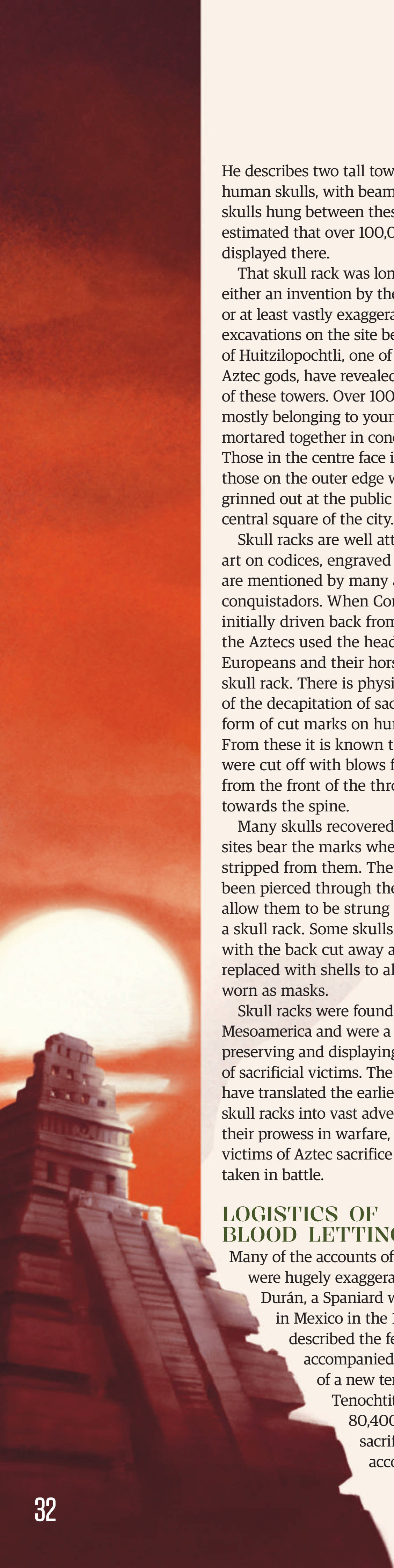


He describes two tall towers built from human skulls, with beams also supporting skulls hung between these towers. He estimated that over 100,000 skulls were displayed there.

That skull rack was long thought to be either an invention by the conquistadors or at least vastly exaggerated. Yet excavations on the site beside the temple of Huitzilopochtli, one of the principal Aztec gods, have revealed the base of one of these towers. Over 100 human skulls, mostly belonging to young men, were mortared together in concentric circles. Those in the centre face inwards while those on the outer edge would have grinned out at the public gathered in the central square of the city.

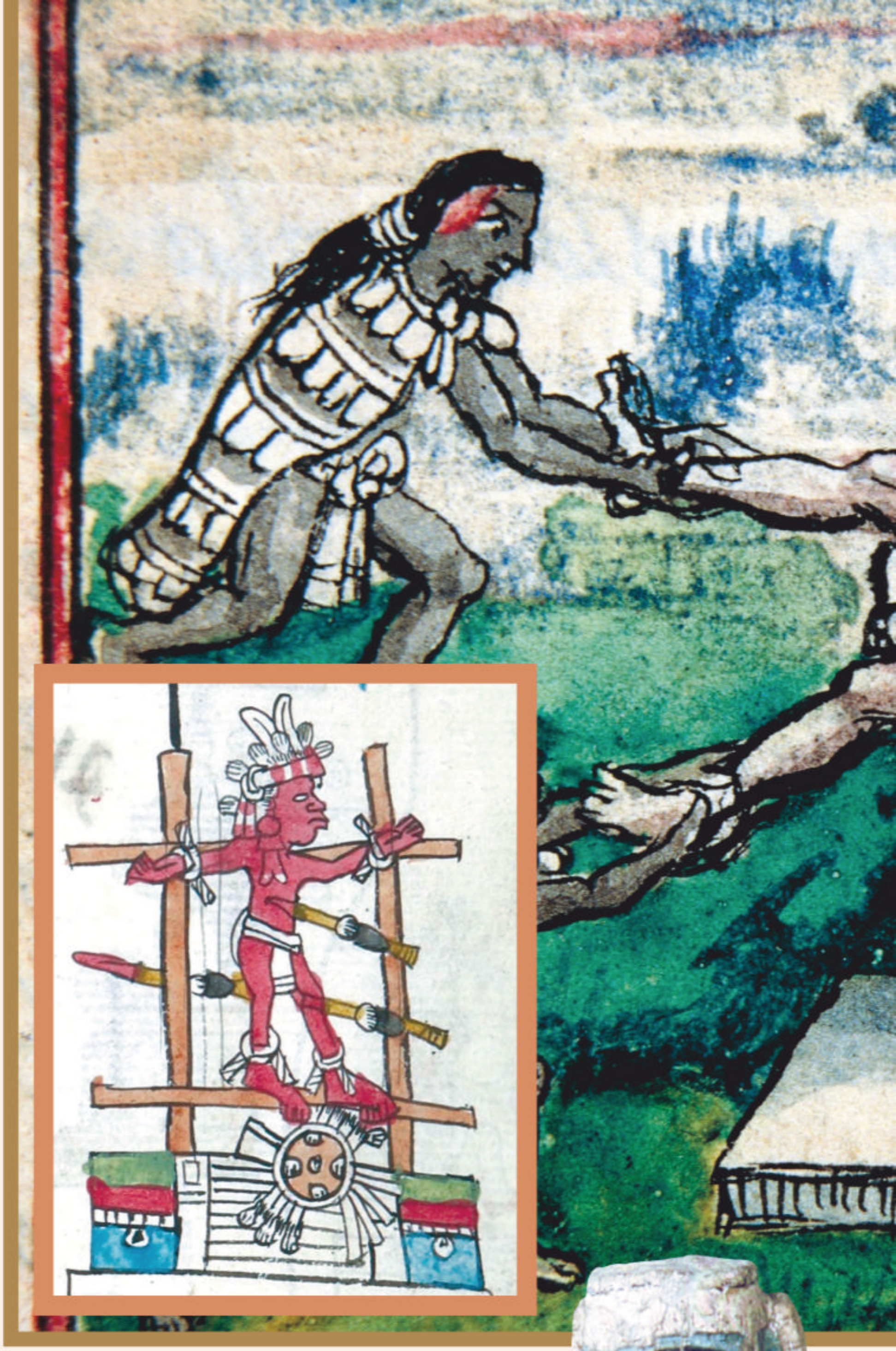
Skull racks are well attested in Aztec art on codices, engraved on walls, and are mentioned by many accounts left by conquistadors. When Cortés' forces were initially driven back from Tenochtitlan, the Aztecs used the heads of the defeated Europeans and their horses to create a skull rack. There is physical evidence of the decapitation of sacrifices in the form of cut marks on human vertebrae. From these it is known that their heads were cut off with blows from stone blades from the front of the throat backwards towards the spine.

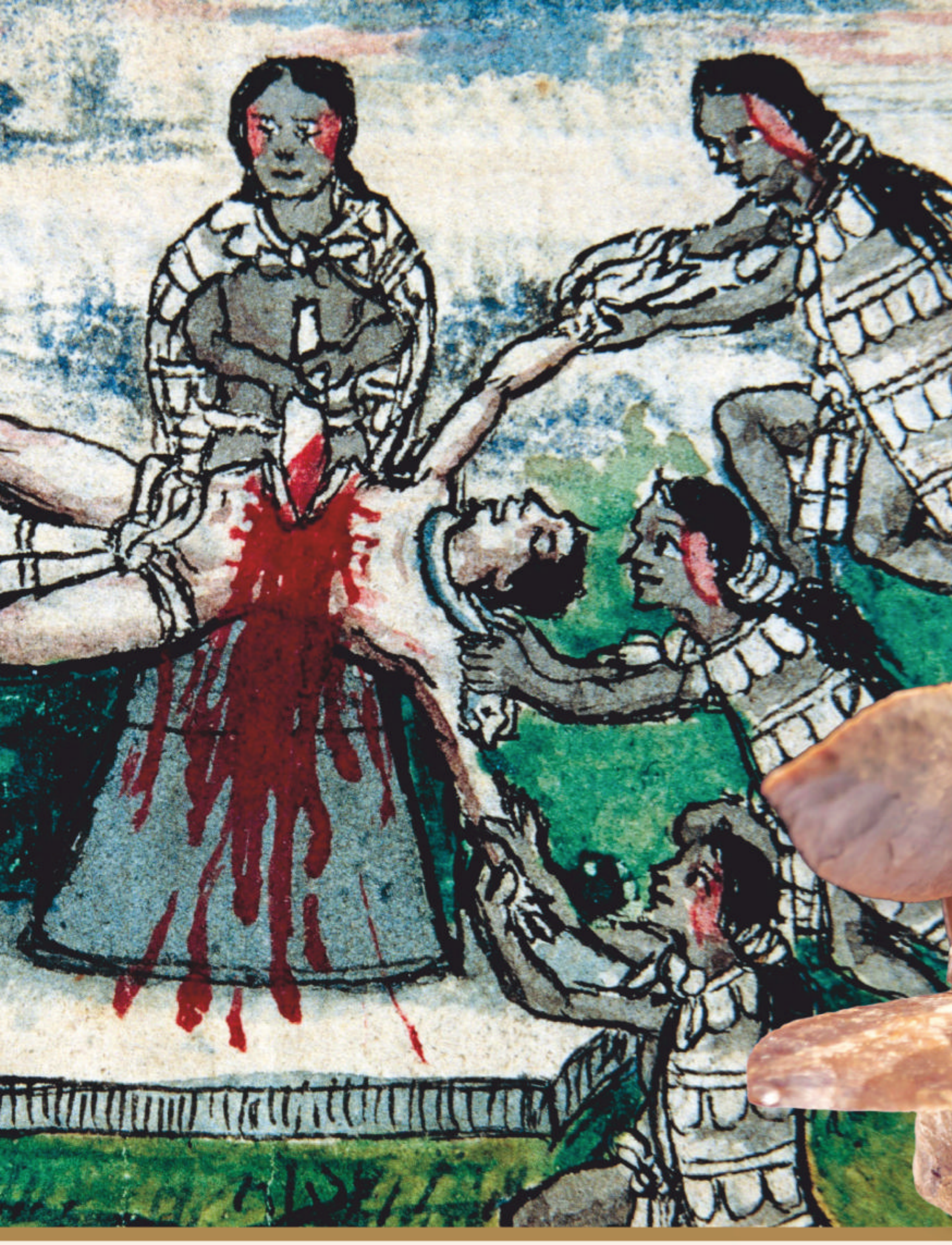
Many skulls recovered from Aztec sites bear the marks where the flesh was stripped from them. The skulls have also been pierced through the temples to allow them to be strung up for display on a skull rack. Some skulls have been found with the back cut away and their eyes replaced with shells to allow them to be worn as masks.

Skull racks were found throughout Mesoamerica and were a way of preserving and displaying the remains of sacrificial victims. The Aztecs seem to have translated the earlier use of these skull racks into vast advertisements of their prowess in warfare, and many of the victims of Aztec sacrifice were captives taken in battle.

LOGISTICS OF BLOOD LETTING

Many of the accounts of Aztec sacrifice were hugely exaggerated. When Diego Durán, a Spaniard who grew up in Mexico in the 16th century, described the festivities that accompanied the inauguration of a new temple in Tenochtitlan, he said that 80,400 people were sacrificed. This would account for nearly





LEFT The sacrificial victim's heart was removed while it was still beating

INSET Not all sacrifices were performed in the same way - this victim was shot by arrows in response to a plague of mice

ABOVE The skulls of sacrificial victims were sometimes altered and worn as masks during rituals

LEFT This chacmool statue was used as a receptacle for human hearts removed during sacrifices

"THE AIM WAS NOT NECESSARILY TO KILL YOUR OPPONENT BUT TO TAKE HIM ALIVE – THUS MAKING HIM AVAILABLE FOR SACRIFICE"

one-third of the population of the city and it is hard to imagine that number of victims being efficiently dealt with.

If the numbers of victims were exaggerated it's hard to say by how much, but human sacrifice was common. Examination of the ritual calendar shows that each of the 18 months had its own associated holy days and most of them were marked by human sacrifice. So who were these victims? Mostly they seem to have been slaves or those taken captive in war. The Aztecs did not conquer all of their neighbours and this may have been because they needed repeated battles to provide victims for sacrifice.

While the Aztecs did fight the usual bloody wars against their rivals there was also a series of highly ritualised combats known as Flower Wars. These featured battles where two armies would meet at an agreed location that had been ritually purified. The warriors would then compete in close-quarters fighting. The aim was not necessarily to kill your opponent but rather to take him alive - thus making him available for either ransom or sacrifice.

Providing a sacrifice to the gods through offering a captive was a necessary step for men who wished to rise in society. The higher the social status of the captive the greater the respect earned by the captor. Should an Aztec warrior die during a Flower War while trying to take a captive it was considered an honourable and blissful death.

THE THEATRE OF DEATH

Sacrifice was done in public so people could witness the gods receiving their due. It could also be spectacular. The festival of Toxcatl, held in the fifth month of the calendar, was dedicated to the god Tezcatlipoca and was particularly festive. For this celebration a special offering was required.

On the day of the festival a man was chosen to play the role of the god.

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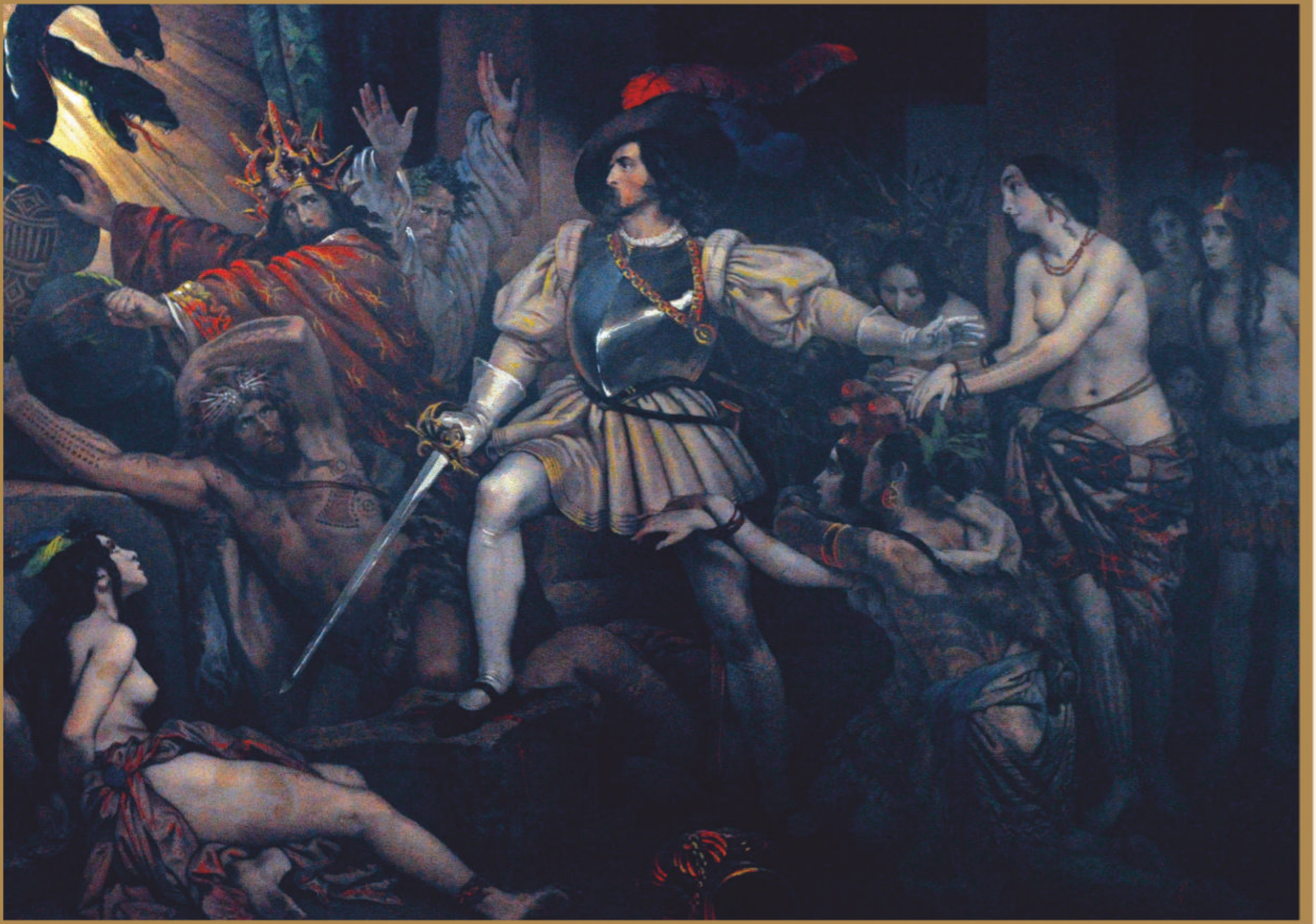

He was usually taken from among a group of captives but the priests were very particular about who was picked. One account in the *Florentine Codex* lists the physical attributes that were looked for, and it was an extensive set of requirements. There could be no disfigurements at all, and every part of the body had to adhere to the Aztec standard of beauty. This perfection was necessary as the chosen man would be playing the role of the god.

From that day forward the chosen person was not simply representing the god but in a sense embodying him, becoming known as an ixiptla. The man was dressed in the most expensive clothes and jewellery, painted black and taught to act like a noble. They were also taught to play the flute, which they would do as they paraded through the streets. As the time approached for the next Toxcatl festival the man was given four brides for his enjoyment.

But their wedded bliss did not last long. On the day of the festival the man impersonating the god travelled by boat to an island where a temple stood. Alone, he would willingly walk up the steps, breaking his flute on the way, and be met by four priests. The priests would hold him down as his heart was cut out with an obsidian blade, sacred to the god Tezcatlipoca. The victim was then flayed and his head cut off so the skull could be added to a rack. The sacrifice's flesh was then distributed among the elite for consumption. The next year's sacrifice would then be selected, and probably donned the skin of the just-slaughtered sacrifice to more fully take on the identity of the god.

"OVER 400 SPECIES OF ANIMAL WERE RITUALLY BURIED, INCLUDING PUMAS, JAGUARS AND CROCODILES"

THE NATURE OF SACRIFICE

Aztec sacrifice is a vexed question in the studies of Mesoamerican culture. Our sources are generally late. Even those written by Aztecs were made after conquest by the Spaniards and were created under their influence. The archaeological evidence is clear that sacrifice did occur regularly as part of religious worship but its meaning is still hotly debated.

Some scholars don't like to use the word 'sacrifice' at all in reference to humans being killed by priests. They prefer the term 'offering' and place them alongside the other offerings dedicated to the gods. Aztec temples have been well excavated and by far the most common offerings uncovered are physical objects like pottery, food and jewellery. At the temple complex of Tenochtitlan alone over 12,000 of these offerings have been found.

Blood may have been an important offering but it was not always human blood that was shed. At the same temple complex in Tenochtitlan the remains of animals were found ritually buried. Over 400 different species are represented in the burials including pumas, jaguars and crocodiles. Fish and shellfish were also offered, some of them transported from distant locations, possibly while still alive. Offerings of objects and animals seem to have been much more common that humans.

We can discount the Spanish reports of millions of people being put to death in religious settings as hyperbole. The archaeological evidence simply does not support this level of sacrifice, with relatively few bodies and skulls being recovered. Yet nor can we deny that humans were regularly offered to the gods.

The Aztecs believed that the gods had sacrificed themselves several times in order to create the universe. This incurred a debt on the part of humanity, and offerings were one way of repaying what was owed. The gods also needed the offerings of humans to support them in sustaining the natural order of things. Had the Aztecs ever failed to supply the gods with what they were due it risked the entire world falling apart. Holding the heart of a human up to the sky was thought to support the continued existence of the life-giving Sun.

SACRIFICE AND SUFFERING

The Aztecs may have had good reason to believe the world was coming to an end. In some accounts in the century before the arrival of Europeans there was a great drought in the region and harvests failed. The rain god Tláloc needed to be appeased and the usual form of sacrifice to him was an offering of children. The victims' tears were thought to be a sign of rain to come. Some link the changes in the climate at this time to an increase in human sacrifice. Several local groups welcomed the coming of the Spanish as they wished to see an end to the depredations of the Aztecs, who always needed more victims. At least, that is how the Spanish accounts tell it.

The Spanish conquerors of the Aztecs stamped down on human sacrifice, even as they spread word of it in Europe to justify their actions. On one occasion Cortés climbed to the summit of the main temple in Tenochtitlan and destroyed the idols of the gods. He then delivered a speech to the Aztecs where he issued a ban on human sacrifice. Aztec violence was ended but the violence inflicted by the Spanish on their new territories was only just beginning. ○

LEFT A 19th-century painting of the conquistador Cortés and a human sacrifice ritual

FURTHER READING

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A FIERY DEATH

The Aztec renewal ceremony explained

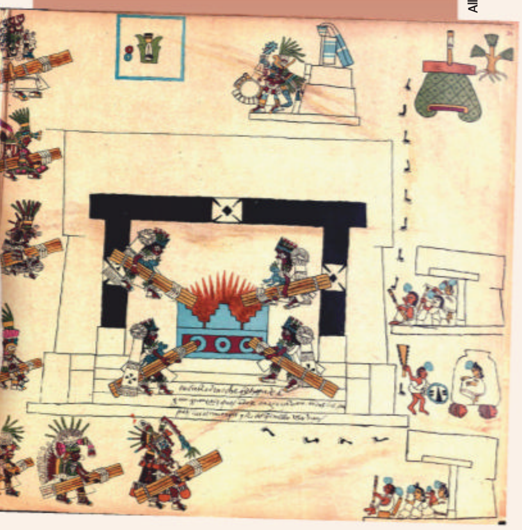
The Aztecs used two calendars, one that was 260 days and another consisting of 365 days. These two calendars only repeated precisely after 18,980 days, or 52 years. The end of one cycle signified a renewal of the cosmic order and was celebrated with the New Fire Ceremony.

At this ceremony all fires in a city were put out so the spirit of the last cycle of years would not be carried into the new. All the fires would be rekindled from a new holy fire to sanctify the new start. This new fire was created during a ritual sacrifice.

Priests dressed as various gods led a man to the top of an extinct volcano and laid him down. Once certain stars reached the appropriate position in the heavens the priests would start the new fire of the cycle. They did this by opening the chest of the victim and removing their heart. The chest cavity was filled with fuel and a fire lit inside the body in which the heart was then burned. This fire was then carried throughout the Aztec empire to relight the fires in every temple and home.

BELOW Aztec religious sites often contain offerings buried alongside the skulls of human sacrifices

INSET This statue depicts an Aztec god dressed in the skin of a sacrificial victim



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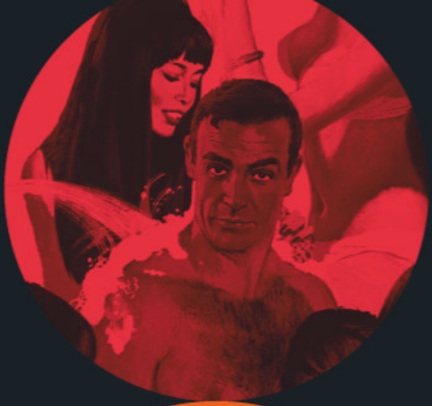


SPY

THE SIXTIES WASN'T ALL ABOUT FLOWER POWER – FROM JAMES BOND TO JOHN STEED, SECRET AGENTS DOMINATED POPULAR CULTURE

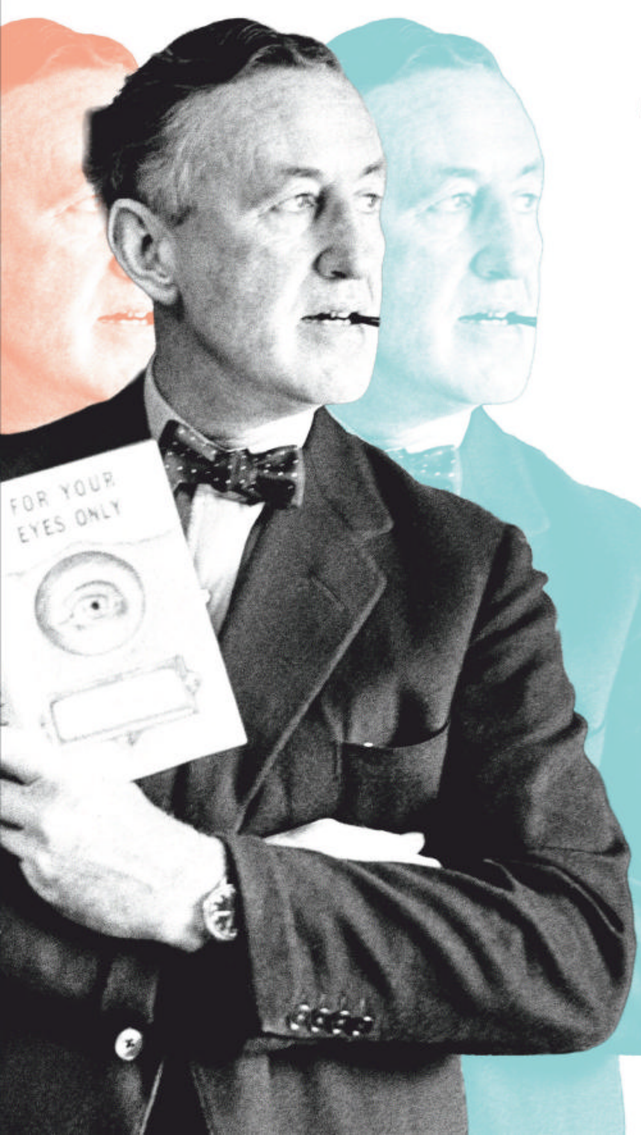
Written by Callum McKelvie

MANIA

“FLEMING DECLARED THAT HE WOULD WRITE THE ‘SPY STORY TO END ALL SPY STORIES’”

ABOVE Sean Connery became the archetypal suave superspy

BELOW In 1953 Ian Fleming created James Bond in his novel *Casino Royale*



At the end of the Second World War a new conflict emerged – the Cold War, a struggle between communist East and capitalist West. The spectre of nuclear armageddon ensured this was not a battle that would be fought with armies out in the open, but in the shadows with secret agents as its soldiers. As tales of espionage dominated the headlines, so too did they come to dominate bookshelves, cinema screens and the airwaves, beginning with a certain martini-drinking super-spy…

BOND, JAMES BOND

In 1952 Ian Fleming, 45, was on the verge of getting married and, in his own words, sought something to “take my mind off the agony.” The successful journalist declared he would write the “spy story to end all spy stories.” *Casino Royale* was published in 1953 and the first print run of 4,728 copies sold out in under a month. By the time of his death in 1964 Fleming had written 11 novels and two short story collections furthering the adventures of James Bond.

Attempts were made to produce a Bond film almost immediately. A 1954 CBS TV adaptation of *Casino Royale* saw an Americanised ‘Jimmy’ Bond portrayed by Barry Nelson, but it was the only time an attempt actually made it to screen until 1961, when producers Albert R ‘Cubby’ Broccoli and Harry Saltzman began adapting Fleming’s sixth adventure, *Dr No*. The original script by Wolf Mankowitz and Richard Maibaum discarded much of the book, even replacing the titular villain with a marmoset monkey, until Saltzman and Broccoli demanded a more faithful rewrite. With Terrence Young set to direct, one crucial question had to be answered: who would play James Bond?

When word reached Fleming that 31-year-old Scotsman Sean Connery had been cast, he was far from pleased, referring to the actor as an “overgrown stuntman”. But when *Dr No* was released on 2 November 1962 it was an instant success, making $2,400,000 in the US alone. *From Russia With Love* quickly followed, partially chosen after President Kennedy selected it as one of his ten favourite books. On 20 November 1963, roughly a month after the film’s release, Kennedy was treated to a private screening.

The success of both films would pale next to that achieved by the third, 1964’s *Goldfinger*. With Shirley Bassey’s brassy title song, Honor Blackman’s provocatively named heroine, Gert Fröbe’s deliciously megalomaniacal villain and – most importantly – its tongue in cheek humour, the film came to define what the public expected from James Bond. *Goldfinger* went on to make $124 million worldwide, recouping its $3 million budget in the space of two weeks. When *Thunderball* was released a year later, it outdid its predecessor with a box office of $141 million.

Bond-mania had officially hit. There were action figures, lunchboxes, perfumes, miniature Aston-Martin DB5s and even an Odd-Job hand puppet. By the time Connery departed the series following 1967’s *You Only Live Twice,* he left in his wake a slew of copy-cats, cash-ins and knockoffs. For all the flower power and mop-top musicians, Bond ensured that it was spies that dominated 1960s popular culture. ▶

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SPIES ON THE PAGE

The origins of espionage fiction can be traced to 1812 and James Fenimore Cooper's *The Spy*. Other classics such as John Buchan's *The 39 Steps* and Eric Ambler's *Epitaph for a Spy* followed in 1915 and 1938 respectively, but the genre had yet to experience a 'golden age'. However, by the early 1960s the success of Fleming's Bond novels and their subsequent film adaptations meant that other authors soon gravitated towards the murky world of espionage.

Some created long-running series of their own, such as US author Donald Hamilton, whose 1960 *Death of a Citizen* introduced the world to assassin Matt Helm. Hamilton produced one Helm novel a year until 1987, with a further three entries appearing in 1989, 1992 and 1993 respectively, resulting in a total of 27 books. Adam Hall's moody existentialist spy Quiller appeared in 19 books published between 1965 and 1996, beginning with *The Berlin Memorandum*. The Quiller stories benefitted from Hall's fast-paced but articulate style, with LeRoy L Panek in his work *The Special Branch* claiming he surpassed Fleming in "craftsmanship and intelligence."

Both Hall and Hamilton's works had a grittier, grimier approach to espionage that was far removed from some of the more fantastical elements found in Fleming's popular novels. Len Deighton's nameless hero took this concept further and came to be seen as the 'Anti-Bond'. Beginning in 1962 with *The Ipcress File*, Deighton wrote five novels featuring a working class secret agent whose greatest concern was not saving the world but his paycheck. Deighton's plots are incredibly complex and, when the subsequent film was released, his hero was referred to as "the thinking man's James Bond". Fleming himself admired Deighton's writing, selecting *The Ipcress File* as one of his favourite books of 1962.

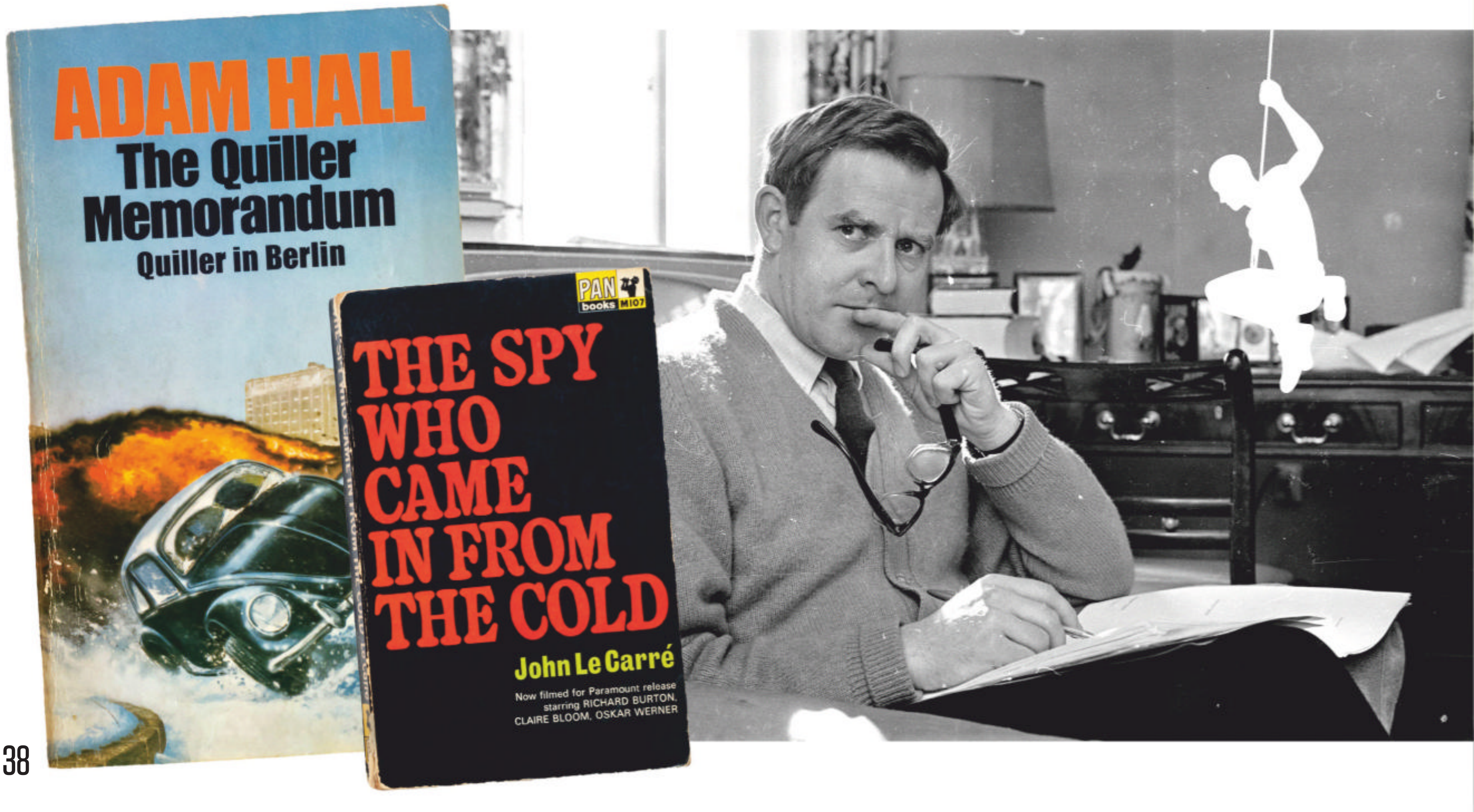
> "DEIGHTON WROTE FIVE NOVELS FEATURING A WORKING CLASS SECRET AGENT WHOSE GREATEST CONCERN WAS NOT SAVING THE WORLD BUT HIS PAYCHECK"

A year later, John le Carré's *The Spy Who Came in From the Cold* hit bookshelves and took the spy novel down a much darker route than even Deighton had dared. Himself an intelligence operative, Le Carré had previously written two mystery novels with espionage elements, but it was the gritty Cold War tale that made him a household name. Robert Harling captured something of the public perception of the book in his review for *The Sunday Times* when he noted there was no "bogus superman stuff but what must be something like the real thing." In a 2008 interview Le Carré mused on this, stating: "If it had been as realistic as people said it was, I would never have been allowed to publish it."

As spy fiction became ever more popular, a number of authors attempted to mimic Fleming's success but for more niche audiences. Children's book *The Adventures of James Bond Junior 003 ½* by RD Mascot was released in 1967 by official Bond publishers Jonathan Cape, and Adam Diment wrote a quartet of novels aimed at the Flower Power generation, beginning that same year with *The Dolly Dolly Spy*. There was even a series aimed specifically at homosexual readers: *The Man From C.A.M.P* written by Victor J Banis and published between 1966 and 1968.

BELOW Adam Hall's Quiller books' titular hero was a moody existentialist spy who featured in 19 novels

BELOW-RIGHT Real-life spook John le Carré found success with his 1963 novel *The Spy Who Came in From the Cold*


ADAM HALL
The Quiller Memorandum
Quiller in Berlin
PAN books M107
THE SPY WHO CAME IN FROM THE COLD
John Le Carré
Now filmed for Paramount release starring RICHARD BURTON, CLAIRE BLOOM, OSKAR WERNER

SPIES ON THE SMALL SCREEN

As spies dominated bookshelves and cinema screens, so too did they invade prime time television slots on both sides of the Atlantic. In Britain, *The Avengers* first aired in 1961, predating the release of the film *Dr No* by a year. The programme began as a crime thriller designed as a vehicle for actor Ian Hendry, starring alongside Patrick MacNee as the mysterious agent John Steed. When Hendry departed the series he was replaced with Honor Blackman's Cathy Gale and gradually the stories became increasingly fantastical.

> "THE SPY TV GENRE WAS BEGINNING TO RUN OUT OF STEAM AND NOT EVEN 1970'S *LANCELOT LINK, SECRET CHIMP* – WHICH STARRED A CAST OF CHIMPANZEES – COULD SAVE IT"

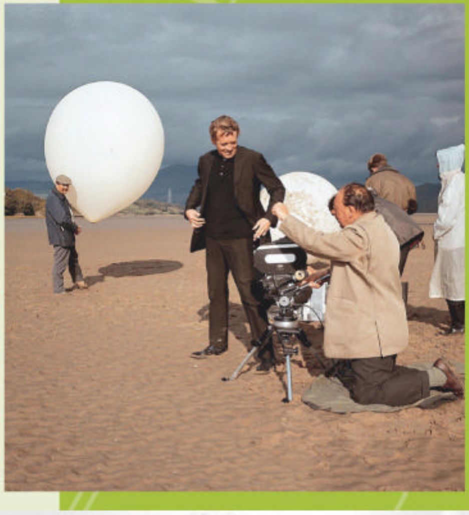
By the time *The Avengers* fourth season debuted in 1965 it featured a new look - shot on film instead of videotape - a new theme song and a new leading lady: Diana Rigg's Emma Peel. The plots veered further into 'spy-fi' than ever before, our heroes fighting plant monsters and robotic 'Cybernauts'. Debuting in the US, it became an instant phenomenon and its success ensured that, as broadcast historian Michele Hilmes notes, "later episodes would be filmed in colour, two years before colour television would be introduced in the UK."

American networks proved they could also create exciting spy adventures of their own. *The Man From U.N.C.L.E* scored the coup of having Fleming involved in creating the original concept, which developed from merely following American agent Napoleon Solo (played by Robert Vaughn) to being a double-act with his Russian counterpart Illya Kuryakin (David McCallum). The featuring of a Russian agent in such a prominent heroic position was unusual, critic Mark Robinson dubbing the pairing "the first on-air detente duo."

Wild Wild West, which ran for four seasons from 1965 to 1969, was originally pitched by creator Michael Garrison as "James Bond on horseback." The show featured two agents, Robert Conrad's Jim West and Ross Martin's Artemus Gordon, who carried out missions in the American Frontier of the 1800s. The pair's most memorable foe was Miguleto Loveless, played by dwarf Michael Dunn. Inspired by Dunn's nightclub act, Garrison promised the actor "on every one of the shows, you're going to sing." The result was that, between attempting to dispatch the heroes, Loveless frequently serenaded Dunn's real-life stage partner Phoebe Dorin.

The most surrealistic example of 1960s espionage TV is *The Prisoner*. Star Patrick McGoohan was best known as special agent John Drake in the series *Danger Man*, for Lew Grade's ITC productions. But by 1967 McGoohan had become bored and approached Grade with an idea - where do spies go when they retire? *The Prisoner* follows Number 6, a secret agent who resigns and is whisked away to a mysterious village where unknown forces attempt to break him psychologically and emotionally. When the prop created to portray Rover, the village's mysterious 'guard dog', proved unsuitable a weather balloon was used instead, resulting in the programme's most iconic image.

By the decade's end, *Mission Impossible* had delivered high-octane adventure, Mel Brooks and Buck Henry had unleashed their spoof *Get Smart* and gritty British thriller *Callan* did its best to inject some much-needed realism. But the spy TV genre was beginning to run out of steam and not even 1970's *Lancelot Link, Secret Chimp* - which starred a cast of chimpanzees - could save it. ▶



TOP *The Man from U.N.C.L.E* broke convention by featuring an American and Russian spy teaming up to work together

ABOVE *The Avengers* began as a serious crime drama before evolving into a pop-art spy series

LEFT One of the most iconic images of 1960s spy television, Rover from *The Prisoner* was created using a weather balloon

BELOW *Lancelot Link, Secret Chimp* took TV spy drama to an absurd level

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SPIES IN THE CINEMA

It was on cinema screens that spies arguably made their biggest impact, as wily producers attempted to mimic Bond's success. Some looked towards popular paperback heroes. Rat Pack member Dean Martin starred as Matt Helm in four films, beginning with 1966's *The Silencers*, that eschewed the gritty realism of Hamilton's novels for a more lighthearted approach. A year prior, Bond producer Harry Saltzman had unleashed an adaption of Deighton's *The Ipcress File* starring Michael Caine in a breakout role. Two sequels, 1966's *Funeral in Berlin* and 1967's *Billion Dollar Brain* followed, but the latter's bizarre tale of hijinks in Helsinki left audiences cold and subsequent entries were scrapped. 1966's *The Quiller Memorandum* may have had the distinction of a script by renowned stage writer Harold Pinter but failed to launch a series.

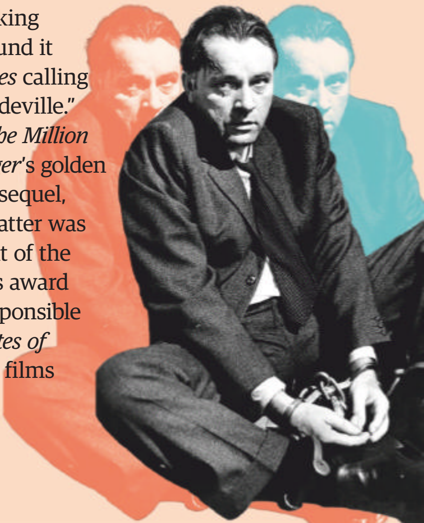
Le Carré, the decade's most literary espionage author, likewise found his work being brought to the big screen. 1965 saw the release of the unremittingly bleak *The Spy Who Came in the Cold*, starring noted thespian Richard Burton and directed by Martin Ritt. The film proved to be a surprising hit with audiences, despite purported issues between star and director. Le Carré recounted that at one point Ritt remarked of Burton: "I've had the last good lay in an old whore." Le Carré was less enamoured with 1967's *The Deadly Affair*, based on *Call For the Dead*. He felt that the film didn't quite add up, and questioned in *The Guardian* if director Sidney Lumet had even read the novel he said: "Maybe he had, And maybe that was the problem."

As the decade wore on, some filmmakers decided if you can't beat them, spoof them. There was *Carry On Spying* in 1964, 1966's flamboyant *Modesty Blaise* and that same year James Coburn starred in the first of two comedies as superspy Derek Flint. But all these paled in comparison to the sheer absurdity of 1967's *Casino Royale*. The rights to Fleming's novel had landed in the hands of American producer Charles Feldman, who transformed the story into a surrealist comedy. But a troubled production meant that by the time *Casino Royale* reached cinemas it had involved five directors, 11 screenwriters and a cast including Peter Sellers, Orson Welles, Ursula Andress, David Niven, Woody Allen, Deborah Kerr and Ronnie Corbett. Despite making $41 million worldwide, critics found it incomprehensible, with *The Times* calling it "an incoherent and vulgar vaudeville."

1967 also saw the release of *The Million Eyes of Sumuru* starring *Goldfinger*'s golden girl Shirley Eaton, followed by a sequel, *The Girl From Rio*, in 1969. The latter was directed by Jess Franco, recipient of the Guinness Book of World Records award for most prolific director and responsible for such classics as *The Erotic Rites of Frankenstein* (1973). The *Sumuru* films

ABOVE Sean Connery's brother Neil was cast alongside Bond alumni Lois Maxwell and Daniela Bianchi in 1967's *Operation Kid Brother*

BELOW Richard Burton took the lead in the bleak 1965 Le Carré adaptation *The Spy Who Came In From The Cold*



ABOVE-LEFT Skyrocketed to fame as a *Goldfinger*'s 'golden girl', Shirley Eaton starred in several spy films of her own

TOP The 1965 adaptation of *The Ipcress File* further cemented Michael Caine's reputation as a rising star

ABOVE Zany spoof *Casino Royale* featured Ian Fleming's original choice for Bond, David Niven

were loosely based on Sax Rohmer's character of the same name, and earlier that year a similarly 'Bondian' update of another pulp figure hit screens. Based on Sapper's Bulldog Drummond novels, *Deadlier Than The Male* starred Richard Johnson, *Dr No* director Terrence Young's original choice for Bond. Despite a less-than-stellar sequel, 1969's *Some Girls Do*, the film is arguably one of the best spy flicks the sixties had to offer.

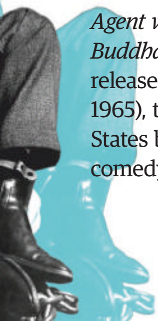
It was not just in Britain and America that Bond proved popular. Across the globe, film industries from a variety of countries sought to cash in on the spy craze. For example, famous Hong Kong producers the Shaw brothers created a number of zany spy flicks, among them *Agent with Iron Fists* (1967) and *The Golden Buddha* (1966). In Japan, Toho films released *Ironfinger* and *Key of Keys* (both 1965), the latter reedited in the United States by Woody Allen to become the comedy *What's Up Tiger Lilly?* (1966).

On the Continent, an entire sub-genre known as 'Eurospy' emerged. *OSS 177: Unleashed*, released in France in 1963, was one of the earliest Bond rip-offs and was followed by four sequels. These were based on the novels by Jean Bruce, which predated Fleming's Bond books by four years. Italy in particular produced a staggering number of knock-off 007 flicks, with the most audacious being 1967's *Operation Kid Brother* starring Sean Connery's real-life sibling Neil. The younger Connery was not an actor by trade but actually a skilled plasterer, and film historian Ed Glaser suggests that frustrated director Alberto De Martino "would have preferred Madame Tussauds wax statue of Sean over a living, breathing Neil."

BACK INTO THE SHADOWS

By the end of the 1960s, public interest in all things espionage had begun to wane. 1969's *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*, the first Bond film not to star Sean Connery, was not as successful financially as its predecessors, earning less than half that of *You Only Live Twice*. Connery's return in *Diamonds Are Forever* in 1971 allowed the series to continue but the flourishing of Bond knock-offs largely disappeared, being replaced with conspiracy thrillers such as *The Parallax View* (1974), or fully transformed into grittier fare such as *Three Days of the Condor* (1975).

The same occurred on television until the end of the decade when there was a number of darker spy series, including *The Sandbaggers* (1978), *The Professionals* (1977) and the celebrated adaption of *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (1979). In literature, Hall's Quiller continued, alongside Hamilton's Helm and new espionage tales such as Frederick Forsyth's *The Day of the Jackal* (1971). But the days of tuxedo-wearing superspies saving the world from nefarious villains were largely gone, its heroes disappearing back into the shadows.



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The Baroness of the Sea

Written by Julia Jones

Discover the life of the pioneering woman who broke boundaries in circumnavigating the oceans

"The voyage would not have been undertaken, and assuredly it would never have been completed, without the impulse derived from her perseverance and determination" – Thomas Brassey

Anna Brassey's idea, in 1876, was that she and her husband, along with their children, household staff, professional yacht crew and three or four friends, should sail around the world for pleasure. Many men had previously circumnavigated in pursuit of knowledge, conquest or financial gain, but not for the sheer enjoyment of it.

Anna's husband Tom had inherited a fortune from his father, a farmer's son who'd become a civil engineer. Brassey senior had met George Stephenson and Thomas Telford and profited from their advice to make his career in railways. He'd worked with engineers like Robert Stephenson and Isambard Kingdom Brunel, and by the time of his death in 1870 he had built one in every 20 miles of railway in the world, as well as the associated infrastructure. Anna had looked after him in his last illnesses, so perhaps it's not surprising that she became fired up with the idea of exploring the world for herself.

The young Tom Brassey had gone into politics. Anna, voteless herself, was his biggest supporter. When Tom was elected Liberal MP for Hastings in 1868, he and his fellow Liberal MP faced legal challenges for the amount they had spent setting up a voter registration association to encourage newly enfranchised working-class voters to add their names to the electoral roll. In 1869 Anna was called as a witness to defend her husband. His leading counsel later wrote: "I consider that the result which was ultimately given in favour of her husband was in a great measure due to her exertions." Young Victorian wives did not regularly speak out in public and Anna was praised for her courage.

EXPERT BIO

© Bertie Wheen

JULIA JONES

Jones is the editor of *Yachting Monthly* magazine and a contributor to *Marine Quarterly* and *Practical Boat Owner*. She is a writer, campaigner and classic-yacht owner, and her previous books include the *Strong Winds* series of children's books and *Uncommon Courage: The Yachtsmen Volunteers of World War Two.*

Tom wrote: "I have put her love for me as the primary motive for her interest in politics, but she had too much intelligence not to form an opinion of her own on public issues. Her sympathies were instinctively on the side of the people, in opposition to old-fashioned Toryism."

Anna was a strong supporter of institutions like working men's clubs, a growing movement throughout the 1860s that promoted working class self-help education, as well as reading rooms and libraries. Once she began to travel, she would send back photographs and artefacts to help widen working people's horizons as she was widening her own.

Perhaps it seems surprising that Anna was not more prominent in the women's campaign for the vote (as her three daughters and Tom's second wife would be). But she was certainly involved. In 1876, the year before she and Tom set off on the voyage that would make her famous, Tom had taken a suffrage petition to Parliament. This was on behalf of their Sussex neighbour Barbara Bodichon, who had drafted the historic first suffrage petition ten years earlier. Although Anna's travel writing reveals her constant awareness and concern with women's position in

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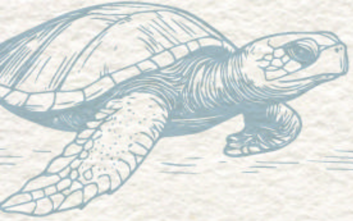


different societies, her personal passion seems to have been the St John Ambulance Society. Her mother had died when she was very young and she'd been brought up as an only child in her grandfather's house in Clapham, London. When Anna was in her mid-teens she suffered a horrific accident when her skirt caught fire and she was confined to bed for six months, unable to move or feed herself, her lower body coated with grease and wrapped in cotton wool while her skin healed.

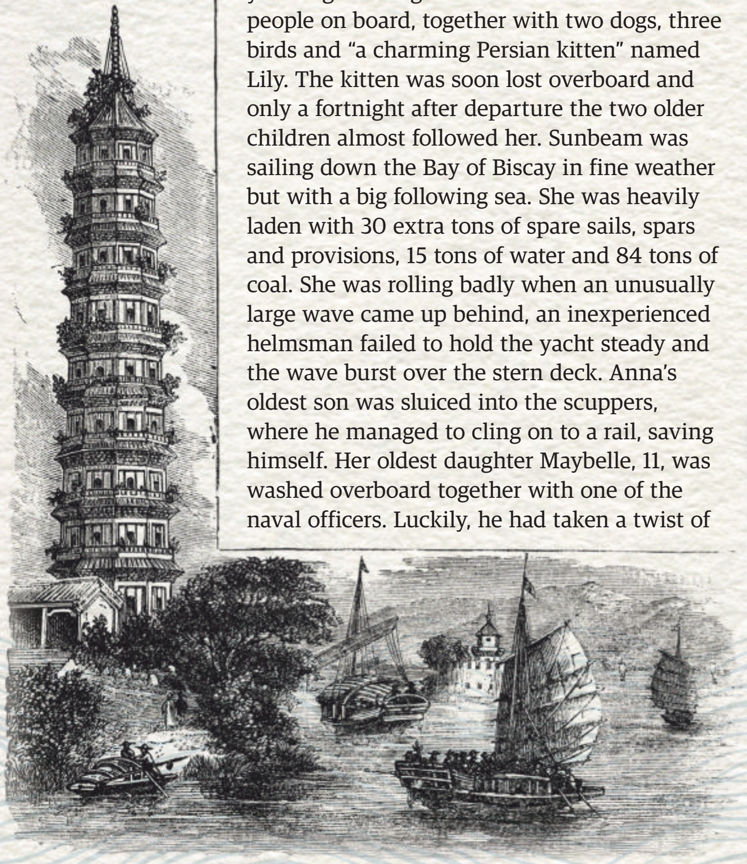
Once Anna became a mother herself, she experienced new sadness when her second daughter Constance – nicknamed 'Sunbeam' – died from scarlet fever in 1874. When the St John Ambulance Society was formed in 1877, Anna was one of the first to gain a first aid certificate. She insisted that the members of her household and the crew of her yacht, named Sunbeam after her daughter, were all first aid trained. As she became well known in her own right and travelled more widely, she founded international St John Ambulance branches.

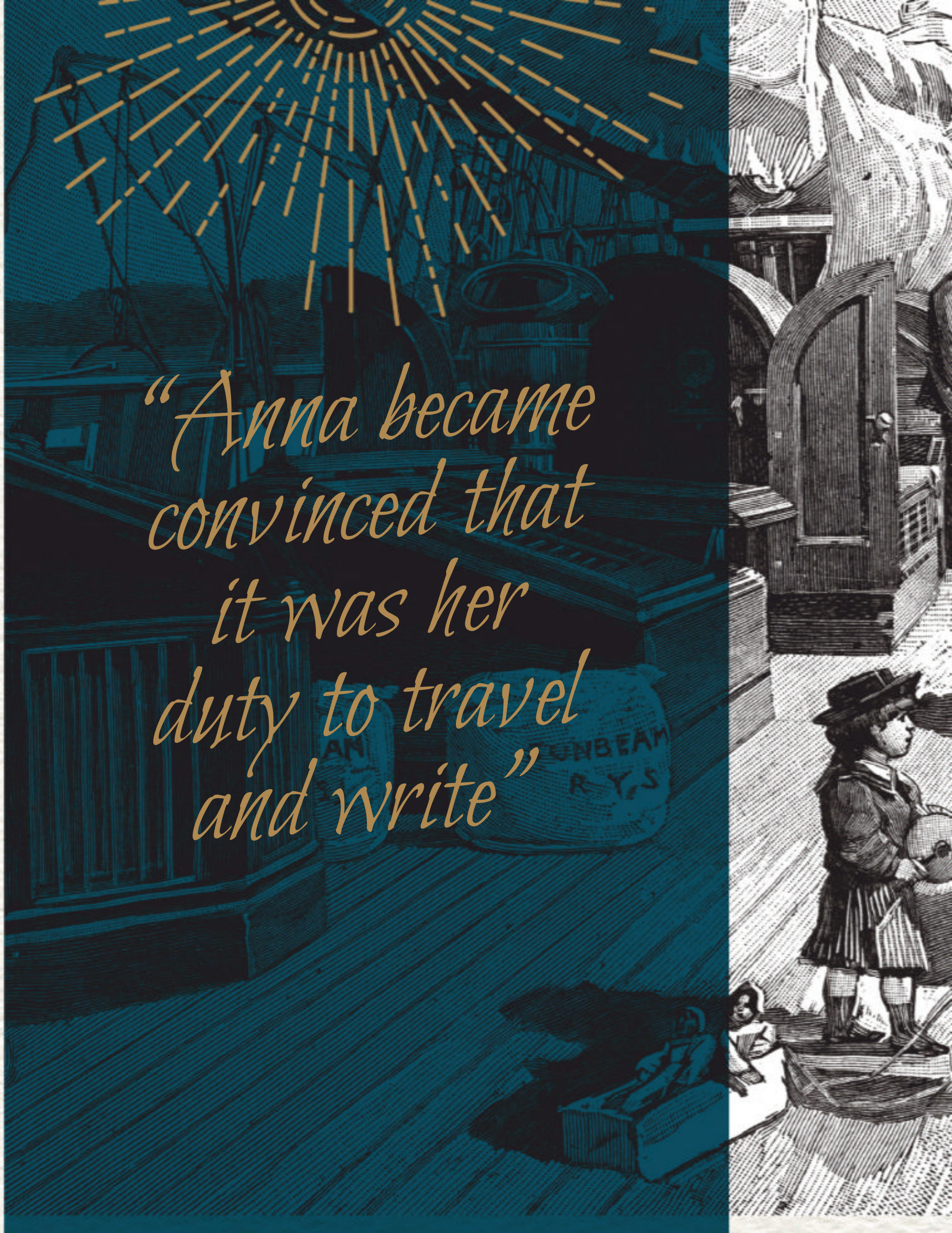
But that level of influence was in the future. When she and Tom and their children, employees and friends set off from Chatham, Kent, on 1 July 1876, they were settling into Sunbeam as their home for the next 11 months.

Sunbeam was a superyacht of her day, a three-masted schooner, 48m long, displacing 532 tons, powered by steam as well as sail. Tom had commissioned her design and Anna had oversight of all the interior arrangements – she evidently enjoyed noticing how this level of female influence shocked the Maharajah of Johore when he visited to inspect the yacht. Other people were frankly puzzled by Sunbeam. What was the purpose of a ship without guns, they wondered, when the vessel reached Kobe in Japan? Similar confusion was felt in the islands of the Pacific: "No sell brandy?" "No." "No stealy men?" "No." "No do what then?"

Anna wrote: "Their knowledge of English was too limited for us to make them understand that we were only making a voyage of circumnavigation on a yacht." Unsurprising, really.

Little Constance's likeness formed the yacht's golden figurehead and there were 43 people on board, together with two dogs, three birds and "a charming Persian kitten" named Lily. The kitten was soon lost overboard and only a fortnight after departure the two older children almost followed her. Sunbeam was sailing down the Bay of Biscay in fine weather but with a big following sea. She was heavily laden with 30 extra tons of spare sails, spars and provisions, 15 tons of water and 84 tons of coal. She was rolling badly when an unusually large wave came up behind, an inexperienced helmsman failed to hold the yacht steady and the wave burst over the stern deck. Anna's oldest son was sluiced into the scuppers, where he managed to cling on to a rail, saving himself. Her oldest daughter Maybelle, 11, was washed overboard together with one of the naval officers. Luckily, he had taken a twist of





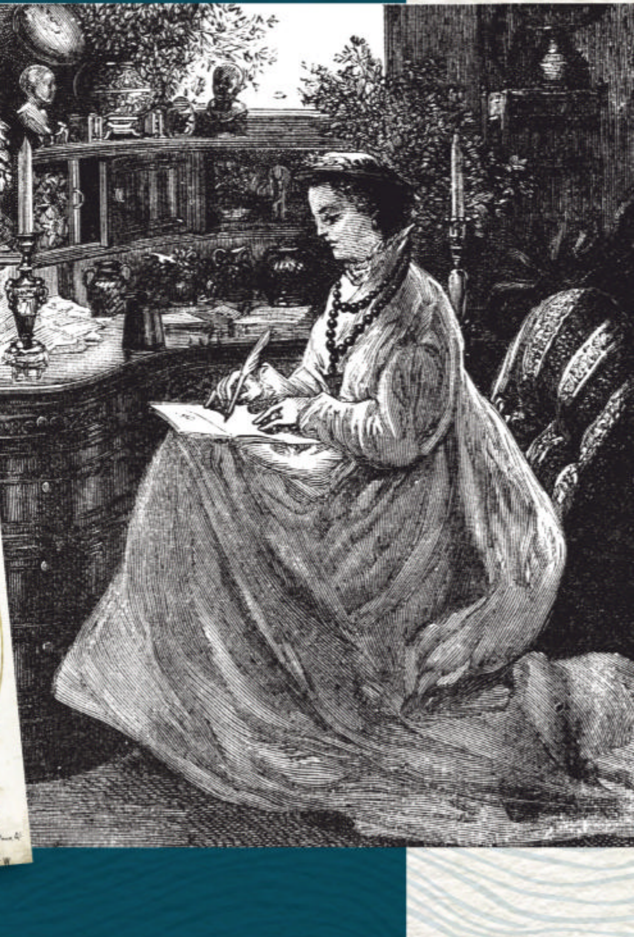
"Anna became convinced that it was her duty to travel and write"

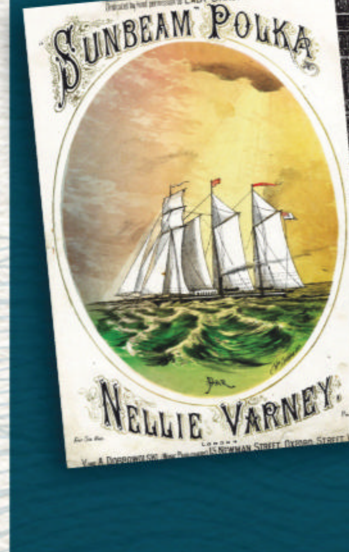
ABOVE Brassey depicted on the deck of Sunbeam, accompanied by two of her children

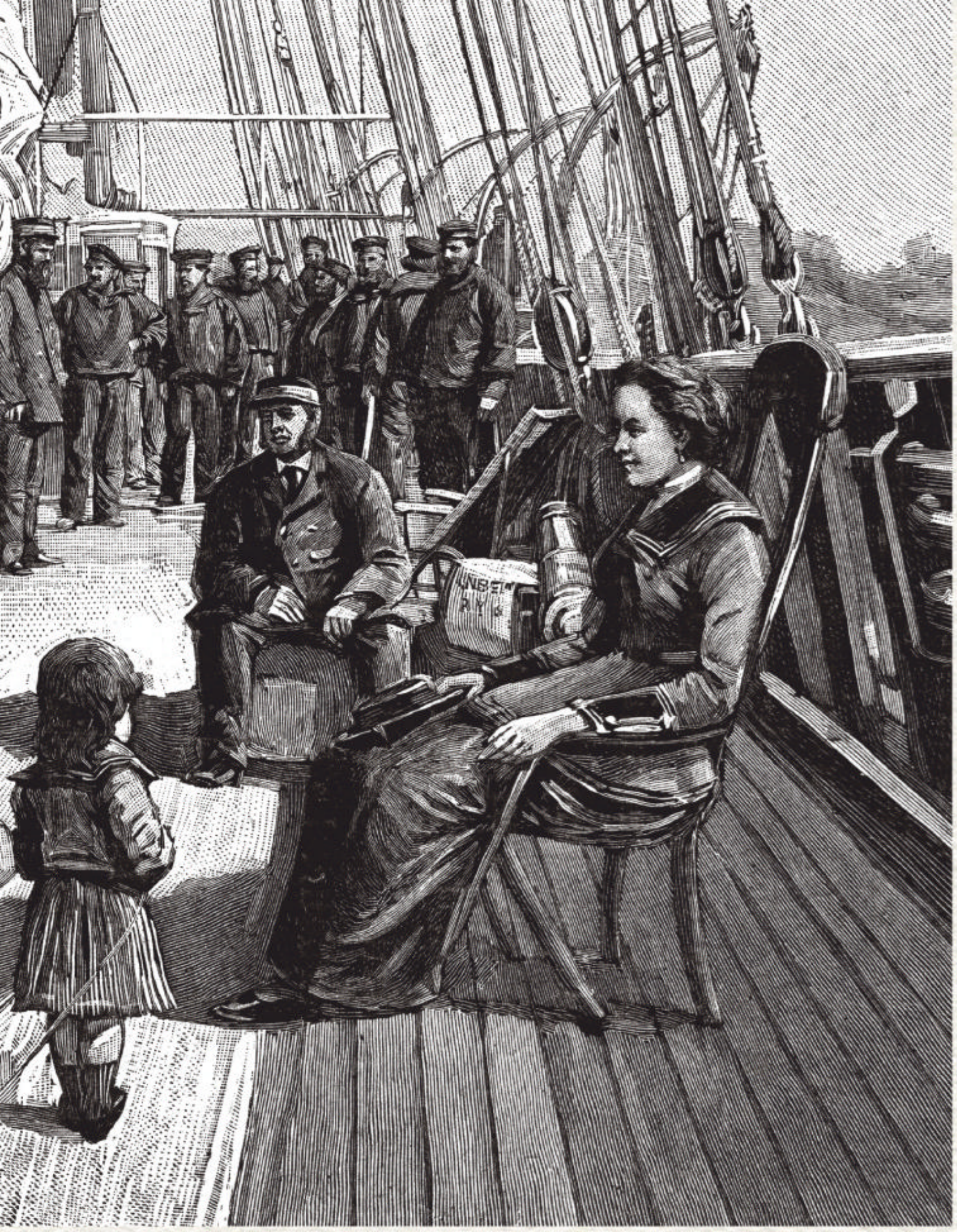
RIGHT Her travels around the world formed the basis of her book *A Voyage in the Sunbeam*

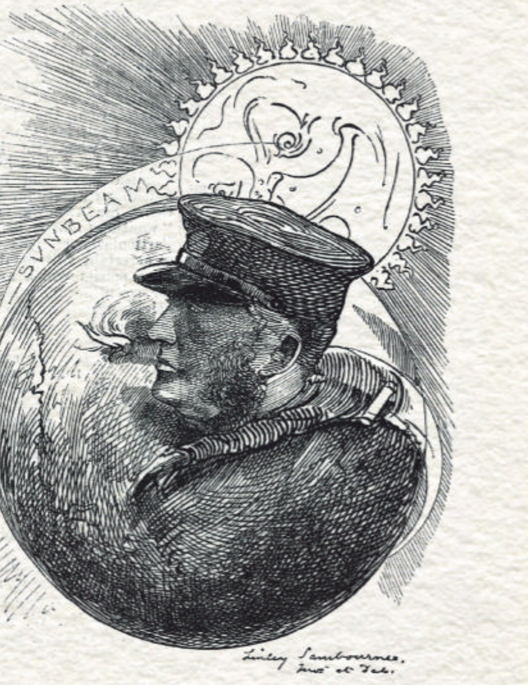
BELOW Brassey's story of her voyages made her a celebrity in her own time

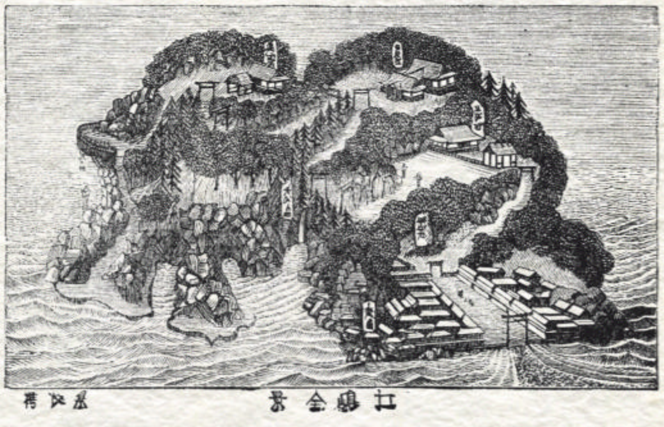
LEFT A Chinese scene etched for Brassey's book




Dedicated by kind permission to Lady Brassey
SUNBEAM POLKA
NELLIE VARNEY
London







rope around his wrist and hung on to it with all his strength while she hung on to him. "Otherwise nothing could have saved them," wrote Anna.

Later, on a rough passage from Honolulu to Yokohama, many of the ship's company fell ill with a flu virus. Anna's youngest child, 18-month-old Marie, was so ill that her mother thought she too would die: "All the early part of the morning we were in the greatest anxiety about Baby. She could hardly draw her breath, and lay in her cot, or on her nurses lap quite insensible and almost blue in the face, in spite of the application of mustard, hot water and every remedy we could think of."

In fact 'Baby' survived and lived into her mid-80s. She became a marchioness, canoeing down the Cowichan River when her husband was governor general of Canada and spent five years as Vicereine of India. All her siblings led active adventurous lives. It was their mother who would not survive.

Every morning on that first circumnavigation, Anna wrote an account of the previous day's events. This might be climbing a volcano in Madeira, devising a cover story for Tom to investigate an illegal slave market, being hauled up Sunbeam's mast (with her petticoats tied under her for modesty), being the first European woman ever seen in the Japanese port of Shimonoseki, feeling horrified by a Chinese woman's crippled feet or by watching an Argentinian mare being flogged round in a small circle, trampling clay into bricks.

On earlier cruises Anna's notes had been sent home as family letters; this time they were collected and published in book form. This was an instant success. "She awoke and found herself famous," wrote Tom. *A Voyage in the Sunbeam* was translated into many different languages, produced in cheap editions, and even used as exam texts. Tom reported that "it was read with pleasure by Prince Bismarck, as he smoked his evening pipe, as well as by girls at school".

Anna's writing is vivid and personal; it's easy to understand her book having the appeal of an outstanding television documentary. She became convinced that it was her duty to travel and to write – when Tom could take time away from politics.

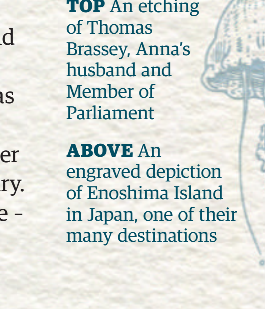
In 1886 he lost his Parliamentary seat. Their children were older and the family could explore further and for longer on Sunbeam, but it was too much for Anna. She'd always suffered from the same bronchitis that had killed her mother and had contracted malaria on an earlier trip to Egypt. Both recurred regularly but she couldn't let herself relax. Tom wrote: "In India, in Borneo, in Australia she was resolved to leave no place unvisited which could by any possibility be reached, and where she was led to believe that objects of interest could be found, to be described to readers who could not share her opportunities of travel."

Anna died at sea on 14 September 1887 and was committed to the deep later that same day. She was 47 years old. ○

TOP An etching of Thomas Brassey, Anna's husband and Member of Parliament

ABOVE An engraved depiction of Enoshima Island in Japan, one of their many destinations

STARS TO STEER BY:
CELEBRATING THE 20TH CENTURY WOMEN WHO WENT TO SEA
IS AVAILABLE NOW FROM ADLARD COLES



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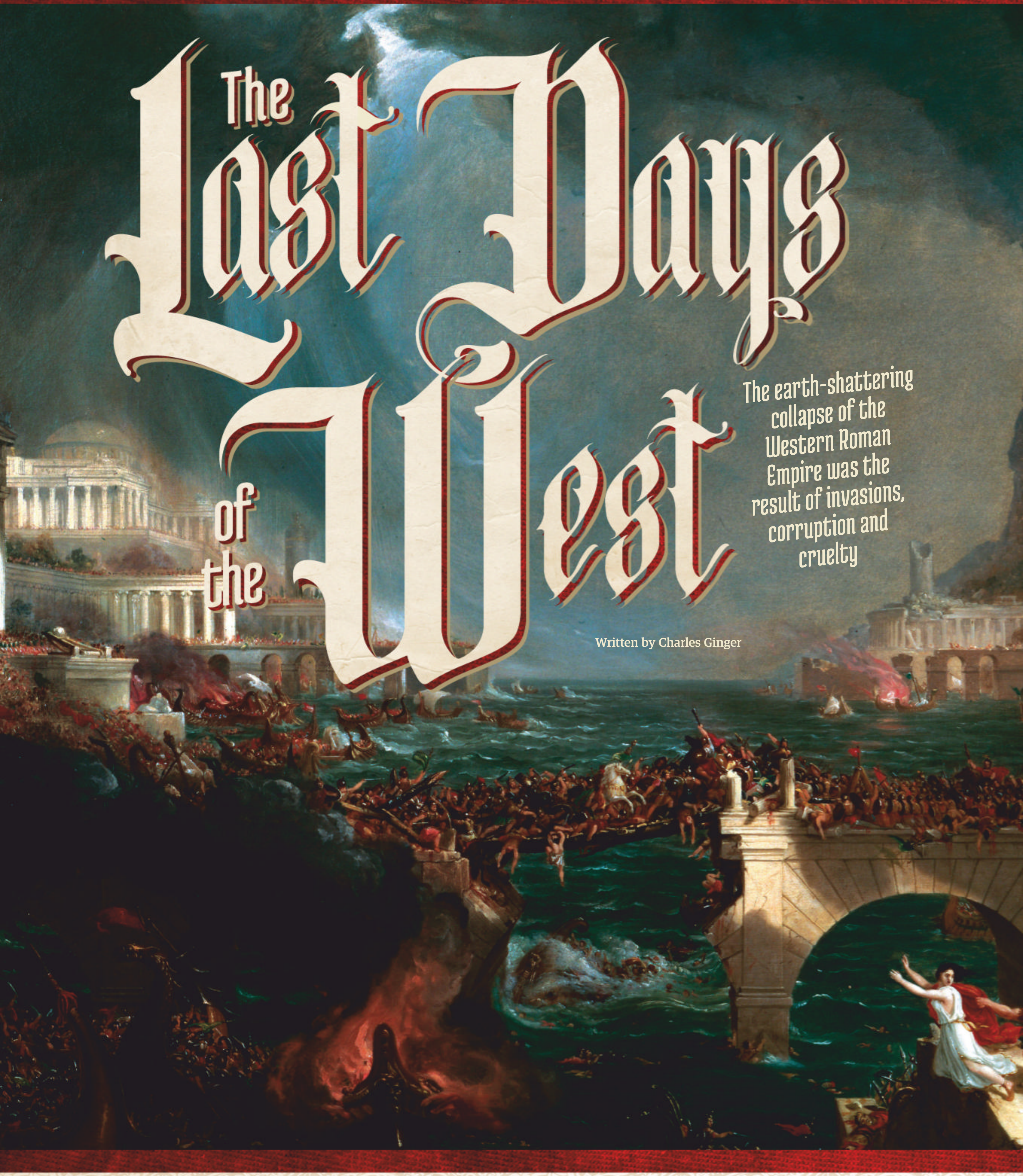
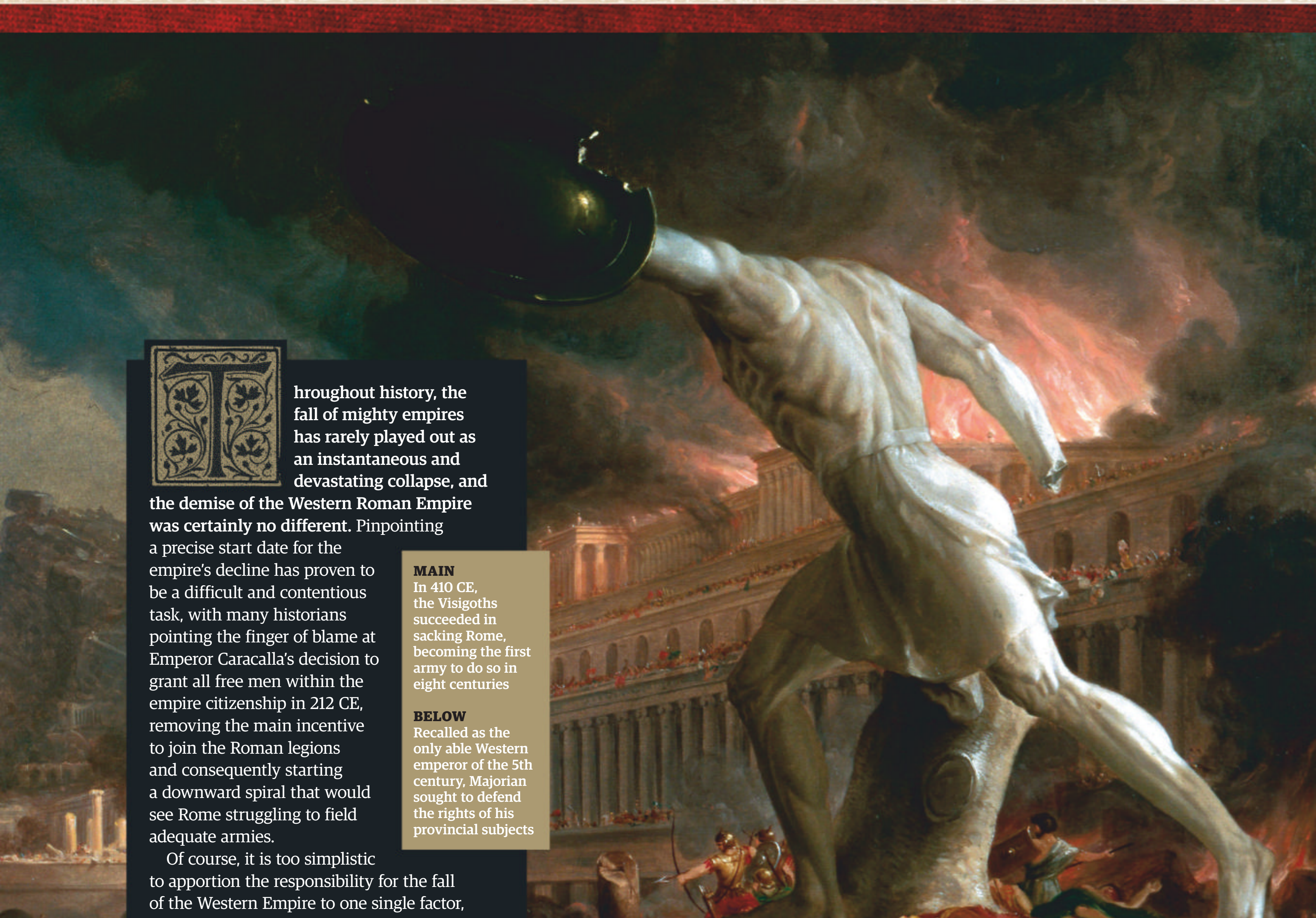


The Last Days of the West

The earth-shattering collapse of the Western Roman Empire was the result of invasions, corruption and cruelty

Written by Charles Ginger

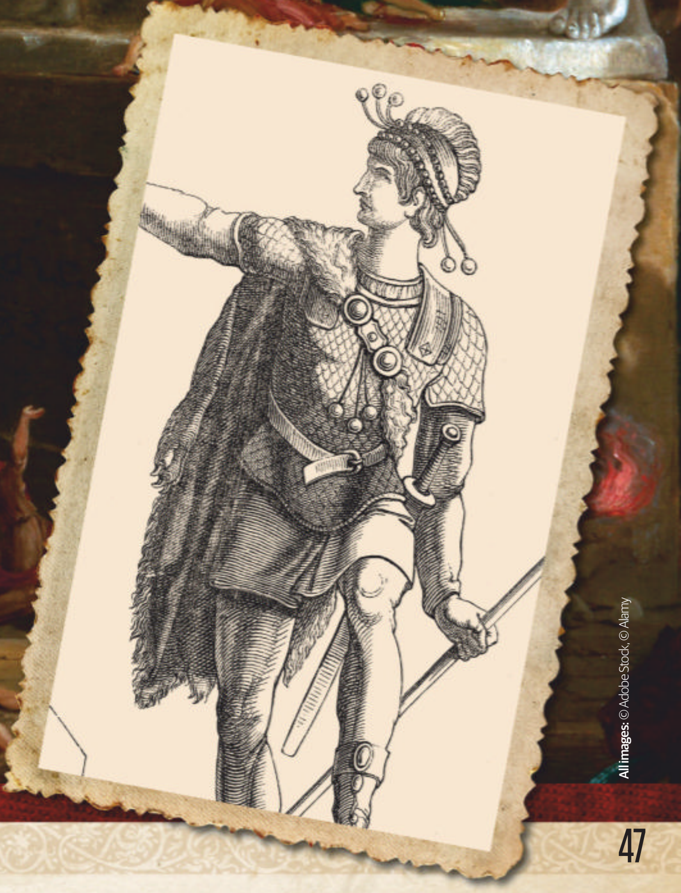


Throughout history, the fall of mighty empires has rarely played out as an instantaneous and devastating collapse, and the demise of the Western Roman Empire was certainly no different. Pinpointing a precise start date for the empire's decline has proven to be a difficult and contentious task, with many historians pointing the finger of blame at Emperor Caracalla's decision to grant all free men within the empire citizenship in 212 CE, removing the main incentive to join the Roman legions and consequently starting a downward spiral that would see Rome struggling to field adequate armies.

Of course, it is too simplistic to apportion the responsibility for the fall of the Western Empire to one single factor, as there were many reasons for its gradual disintegration. By the time of Emperor Avitus' ascension to power in 455 CE, Rome had been sacked twice, once by the Visigoths in 410 CE and then again in the year of Avitus' coronation by a rampant horde of Vandals. Conscious of ▶

MAIN
In 410 CE, the Visigoths succeeded in sacking Rome, becoming the first army to do so in eight centuries

BELOW
Recalled as the only able Western emperor of the 5th century, Majorian sought to defend the rights of his provincial subjects



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his somewhat tenuous grip on power, the newly appointed Avitus moved quickly to appoint a comes (count of the empire) by the name of Ricimer, a general of Germanic descent who would play a major role in the rise and fall of several emperors. Yet the title bestowed upon him by Avitus was not as glamorous as it had previously been, for by 455 CE the once enormous sphere of Roman influence had shrunk to such an extent that it now only encompassed a scattering of regions in southern Gaul and the Italian Peninsula itself. It was an empire that Avitus would not rule for very long.

Despite managing to secure an – admittedly doomed – truce with the Vandals during his first winter at the helm, the strength of this agreement was found wanting in 456 CE as the Germanic 'barbarians' resumed hostilities in the south of Italy. Avitus' failure to completely stem the Vandals' incursions was compounded by the Visigoths' progress in Hispania. The Gaulish ruler of Rome was struggling abroad, and it wasn't long before his domestic unpopularity finally made his position untenable.

Never slow in seizing an opportunity, Ricimer moved quickly to topple Avitus, who was roundly loathed by Rome's hungry population. (A combination of the Vandals choking off Rome's imports and the foreign troops that had accompanied Avitus resulted in food shortages in the wake of the city's destruction.) The general's machinations inevitably spurred Avitus to retaliate, but his hopes were to be dashed. Heading an enormous force, Avitus marched to confront Ricimer's own army near Piacenza in northern Italy, only to witness the destruction of his host. With no option but to flee, Avitus is thought to have died during the first month of 457 CE while en route to the safety of Gaul, possibly on the orders of the man who would succeed him, an ally of Ricimer's in the rebellion called Majorian.

By the time of Majorian's coronation in December 457 CE, the Roman Empire was spiralling terminally towards its demise, a monumental yet gradual collapse resulting from numerous overlapping factors, a primary one being continuous, devastating, barbarian invasions.

In its prime, the empire had often crushed such uprisings with relative ease, but conquest and consolidation cost the empire vast sums of money – funds that, as time went by, could no longer be supplied in the form of war booty. Instead Rome's leaders had to look closer to home, taxing the wealthiest of its citizens in a desperate bid to shore up a failing military machine.

This necessary measure inevitably alienated the city's monied inhabitants, many of whom resorted to leaving Rome in order to keep hold of their wealth. When coupled with rampant corruption within the Senate and the inevitable decline in slave labour that accompanied the empire's halting expansion, this widespread avoidance of tax only served to weaken an already financially shaky empire at a time when enemies such as the Huns, Goths and Vandals were strengthening, the latter of which had inflicted a chastening lesson on Rome in 435 CE when they began to settle across North Africa, a development the Romans were powerless to stop. If the empire was going to survive, this vital region would have to be reclaimed, a goal that Majorian quickly set his sights on.

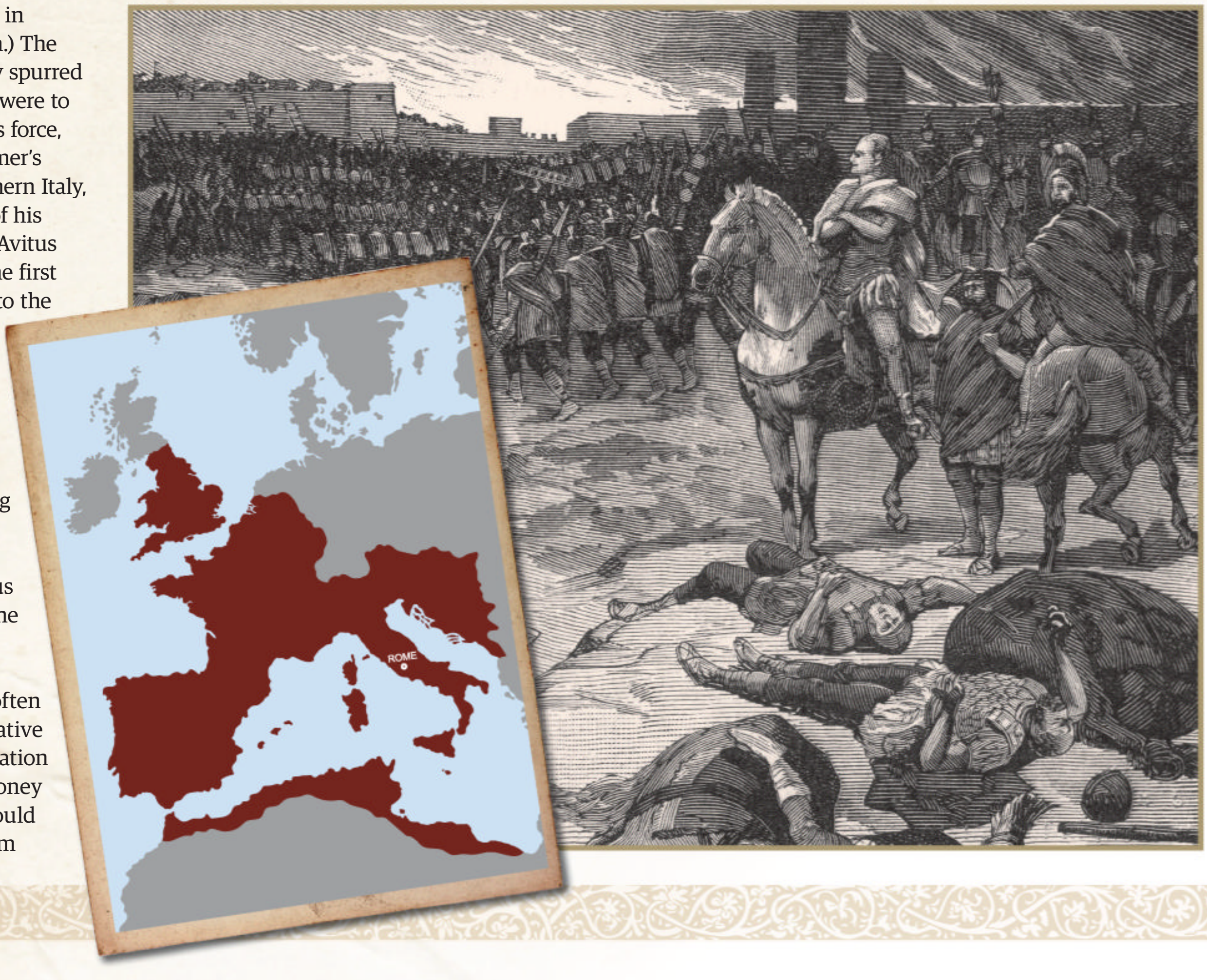
A leader who sought to curtail the financial deviance so damaging to his beleaguered realm, Majorian took his administrative obligations as seriously as his military ones, yet he is best remembered for his martial efforts.

> "By 455 CE the sphere of Roman influence had shrunk, only encompassing a scattering of regions"

Intent on resurrecting Rome's crumbling empire, Majorian swiftly smashed an Alemmanic (German tribe) invasion before storming into Gaul in 458 CE and putting King Theodoric II's Visigoth force to the sword at the Battle of Arelate. Success in Hispania would follow for an emperor described by many scholars as brilliant in every respect. However, glory in the field of battle would prove elusive just when Majorian needed it most.

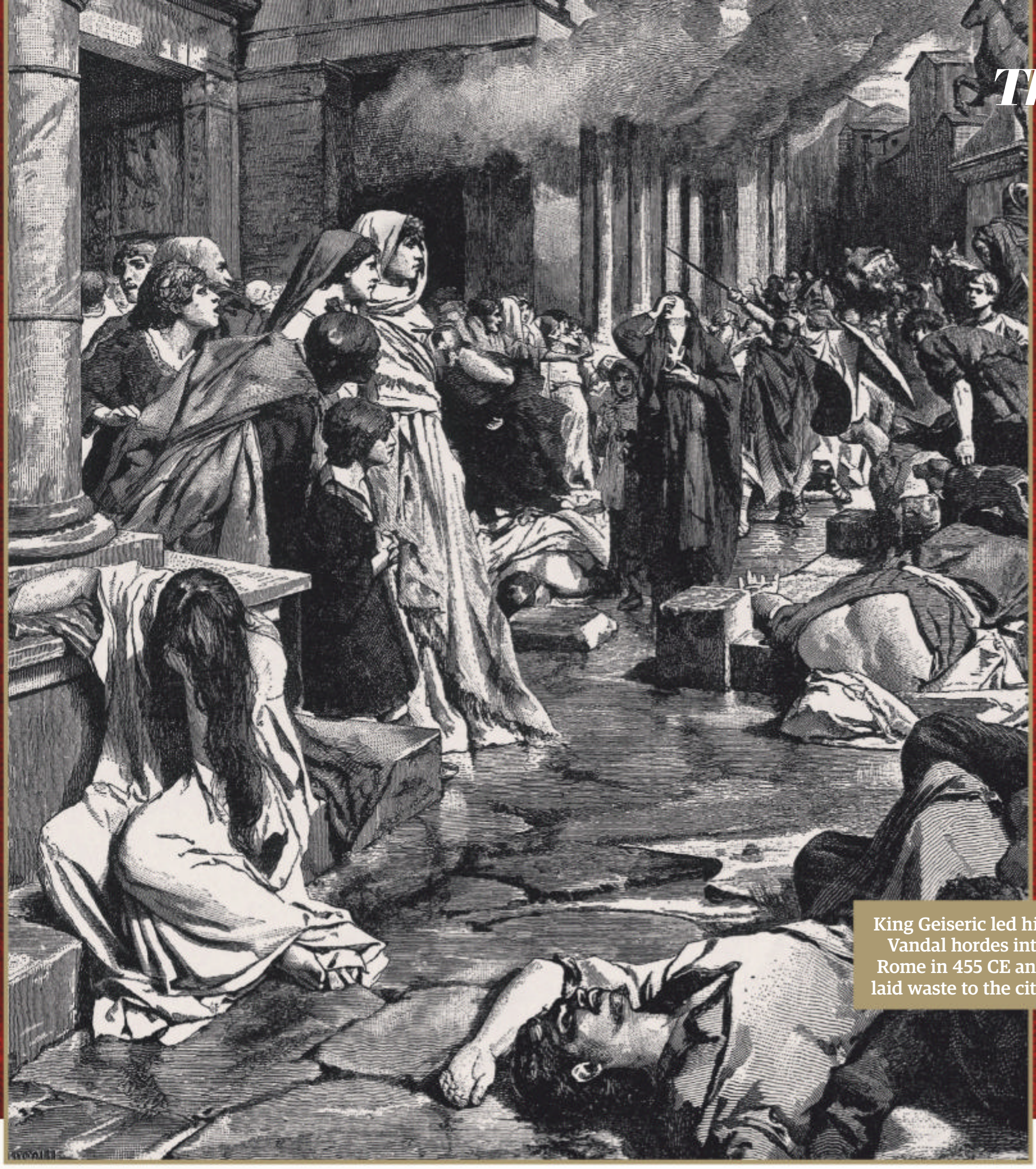
Hungry to reclaim the precious resources of North Africa, Majorian had wisely accrued a fleet of 300 vessels with which to transport an invasion force across the Mediterranean and onto the shores of the former Carthaginian Empire. Sadly for the ambitious emperor, he would never even get the chance to attempt a crossing because his entire fleet was destroyed while anchored off the coast of Hispania by men in his own ranks who had treacherously accepted payment from the Vandals to betray Rome.

Crushed by this astounding reversal, Majorian soon made for Rome. Upon reaching the city he must have been startled to be arrested by none other than his old ally Ricimer. His incarceration was tortuous but brief – five days later



BELOW The Battle of Adrianople dealt the Romans a blow they never recovered from, culminating in the death of Emperor Valens

INSET The Western Roman Empire as its greatest extent



King Geiseric led his Vandal hordes into Rome in 455 CE and laid waste to the city

Majorian was beheaded on 7 August 461 CE. Yet again, the empire was in need of an leader.

A brief jostle for power ensued as Emperor Leo I of the Eastern Empire sought to promote a candidate of his choosing, but Ricimer would triumph in the end with the eventual appointment of Libius Severus, a man who would rule (under the watchful gaze of Ricimer) for four years before he died of natural causes.

Thankfully for the Western Empire's cause, this period of unrest between both halves of the empire wouldn't last, with the ascension of Anthemius as emperor in 467 CE, an elevation that pleased both Ricimer and Leo I. However, while the two realms worked to come together again, the differences between them were many and stark.

While its sibling struggled with numerous issues, the Eastern Roman Empire went from strength to strength as the 5th century wore on. Blessed with greater financial resources than the West, the East was better placed to bribe ambitious barbarian leaders, which it did successfully when it came to keeping the ruthless Attila the Hun at bay. By contrast, the West suffered greatly at the hands of Attila prior to his death in 453 CE, both indirectly due to the sudden influx of refugees that poured across the Roman borders as the Huns rampaged across Europe, and as a direct result of his invasion of northern Italy.

If gold didn't prove sufficiently enticing to ward off an invasion, the East – again, thanks to its wealth – could rely on a stable standing army to defend it (not to mention the imposing walls erected to protect Constantinople, a fixture that thwarted Attila's efforts to take the city), something that only served to encourage invading tribes to turn their attentions to the weaker West. Of these tribes, the Vandals proved to be a thorn in Roman sides, and the situation was no different for Anthemius.

By 468 CE, he was a year into what was turning into a promising reign. Supported by both the ever-present Ricimer and his counterpart in the East, Leo I, Anthemius enjoyed cordial relations with the other half of the empire, a unity that resulted in both sides determining to work as one to finally put an end to the Vandal presence in North Africa.

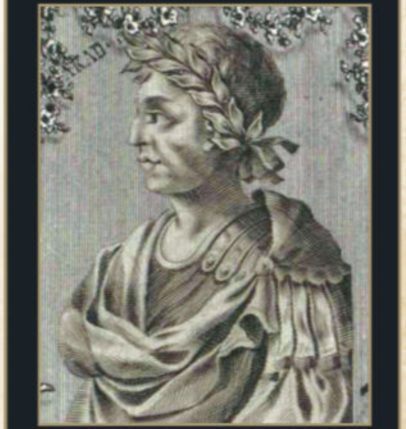
Led by Basiliscus (Leo I's brother-in-law), an armada of about 1,000 ships set sail for what is today the coast of Tunisia with a vast army of both Western and Eastern

Rome's kingmaker

Born in 405 CE to Rechila, a member of the Germanic Suebi tribe and king of Galicia, a region in what is today northern Spain, and his wife, a daughter of the king of the Visigoths, Flavius Ricimer grew into a ferociously ambitious young man who refused to allow his barbarian lineage to hold him back.

It's estimated that Ricimer began his service in the Roman military in the early 420s CE. He rose rapidly through the ranks, befriending a future emperor in a man called Majorian and raising his own forces in the mid 450s CE with which to crush the Vandals in two key engagements. These victories came in 456 CE at the battles of Agrigentum and Corsica – achievements that gained him heroic status back in Rome.

With glory on the field secured, Ricimer turned his attention back to Rome's political scene, aiding his former comrade Majorian in toppling Avitus and stealing the throne. Unable to rule due to his background and Christian faith, Ricimer determined to take a slightly subtler route to power, controlling a number of Western Roman emperors for almost 20 years, during which time any incumbent ruler who displeased him quickly found themselves removed from power – violently.



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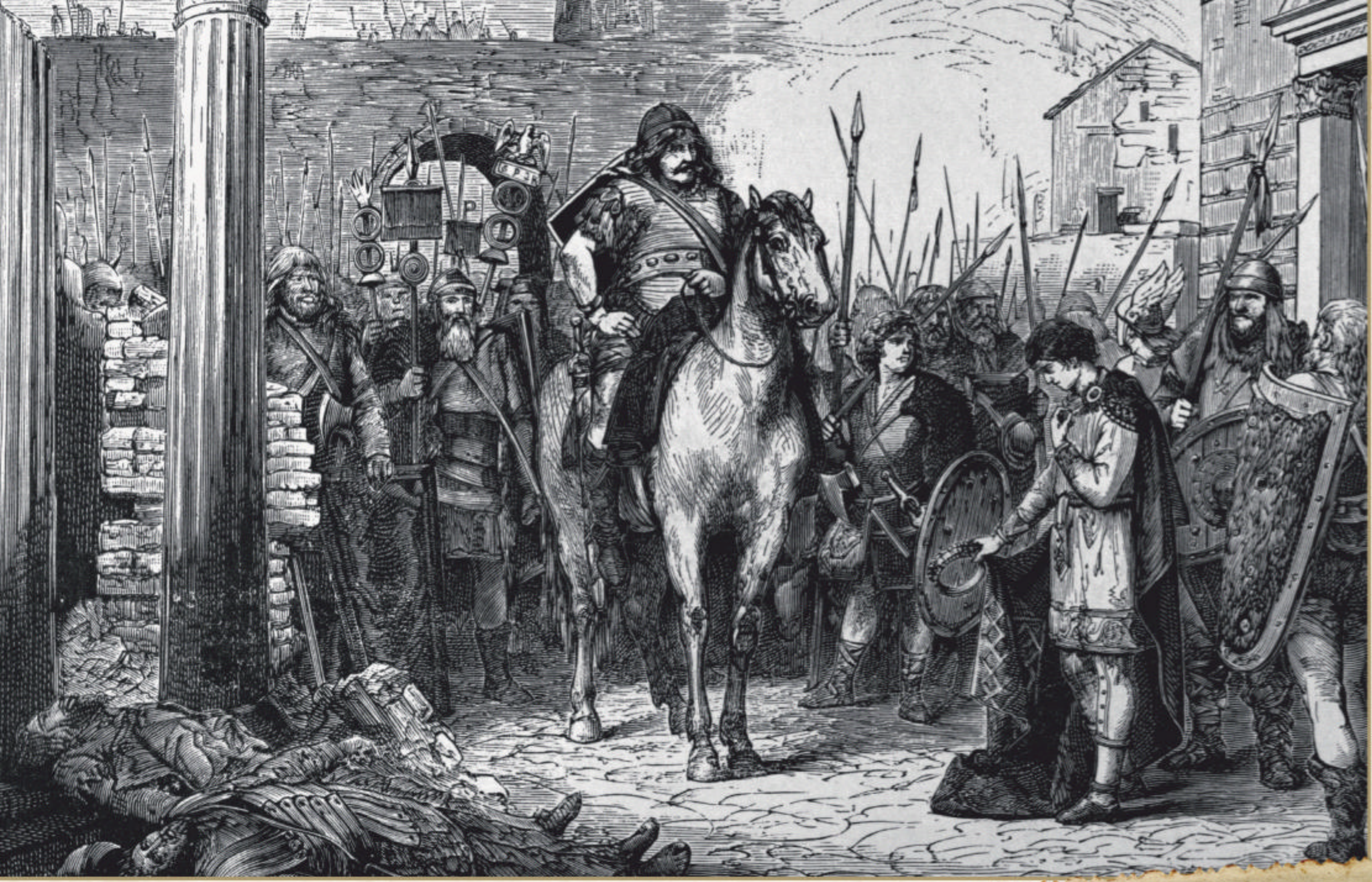
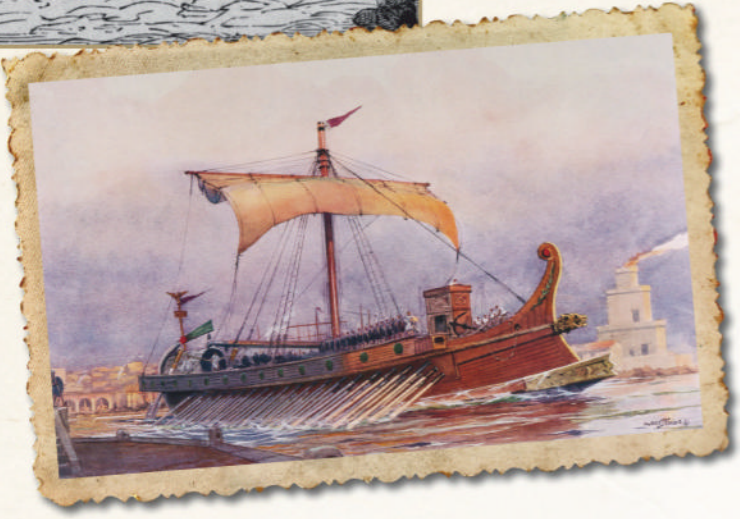




LEFT Odoacer triumphantly rides into Ravenna (by then capital of the Western Empire) as Romulus bows to Italy's conqueror

BELOW Majorian lost 300 ships at the Battle of Cartagena in 461 CE, preventing Rome from retaking North Africa

Roman troops on board. Yet while this new invasion force would better Majorian's in actually making landfall, their hopes of victory were dashed just as brutally at the Battle of Cape Bon.

Alert to the real and pressing threat to his empire, King Geiseric sent forth a wave of fireships into the Roman ranks before unleashing his own fleet, causing catastrophic losses of 10,000 men and 100 vessels. In one fell swoop, the Germanic ruler and one-time sacker of Rome extinguished the last remaining hope of survival for the Western Roman Empire.

Bereft of the resources offered by its former African territory, the beleaguered empire soon found maintaining its armed forces a far heavier burden, one made no easier to bear in 470 CE when a force commanded by Anthemius' son failed to make any headway against the Visigoths in Gaul. With the south lost and Rome's grip on the western provinces loosening, Anthemius' reign appeared doomed, and it was little helped by the Senate's suspicions of a ruler of Greek birth. Even the once-guaranteed support of Ricimer could no longer be relied on.

In 472 CE the opportunistic general moved against his former friend by declaring Olybrius (a man close to Leo I) as the new emperor of the West following tensions with Anthemius. This inevitably sparked open war between forces loyal to the emperor and those beholden to Ricimer. The conflict culminated in a savage engagement in Rome in which Anthemius' troops were scythed down en masse by a barbarian army that showed no mercy. Clemency was not even afforded to Anthemius, who, having scrambled to the 'safety' of a church, was arrested and executed. No doubt pleased to have yet again bested a political rival and secured power for his chosen candidate, for once Ricimer had played the wrong hand. Olybrius (who was deemed an illegitimate ruler by an outraged Eastern Empire) only lasted for seven months before he passed away from dropsy. He was soon followed into the afterlife by Ricimer, the military powerhouse eventually laid low by a haemorrhage in 472 CE.

Olybrius was succeeded four months after his death by a Dalmatian called

Odoacer: First king of Italy

Believed to have hailed from the eastern-Germanic Scirii tribe, Odoacer was born in 435 CE. It was by this time Roman custom to provide foederati (barbarian regions loyal to Rome) with various benefits in return for their military aid, evidence of how weak the empire had become. As such, Odoacer journeyed to Italy in around 470 CE to serve in the Roman army.

His career fighting for the failing empire, which began during the rule of Anthemius, lasted for around six years; sufficient time to rise to a position of command. By 476 CE, Odoacer clearly felt he and his troops were due some reward for their efforts on Rome's behalf, and initially Orestes, who had recently installed his son Romulus, promised to grant the barbarians under Odoacer the territory they demanded. However, he unwisely chose to renege on this deal, unleashing an uprising that would prove the death of the Western Roman Empire.

During his reign as king of Italy, Odoacer enjoyed martial success, conquering the independent region of Dalmatia after a two-year campaign. He ruled until 493 CE, when he fatefully accepted an invitation to a banquet held by King Theodoric, who had been nominated as king of Italy in 488 CE by the Eastern Roman emperor Zeno in a bid to depose Odoacer. Theodoric broke bread with his rival before killing him by his own hands by cleaving him in two.

Glycerius at the behest of Gundobad, king of the Burgundians and nephew of Ricimer – a second affront to the East. Without the backing of Ricimer and aware of the East's refusal to accept him, Glycerius made overtures to Leo I in a bid to heal the rift between the empires. His olive branch was thrown back in his face as Leo, by now hugely unpopular due to his banning of non-religious festivals in the East, not only nominated Julius Nepos as emperor of the West, but then also proceeded to send a fleet to invade Italy and claim the throne. This was one of the last acts of Leo's reign, as dysentery claimed him that year, putting an end to a reign that had begun in 457 CE.

As the husband to Leo I's niece, Nepos had extremely close ties to the Eastern emperor's court, which explains why he was Leo's preferred choice to replace Glycerius in the summer of 474 CE. Nepos' fleet duly made for Ostia (near the port of Rome) in June, landing on Italian soil at a time when Glycerius was hopelessly exposed (his master, Gundobad, had returned to Gaul to rule his kingdom in Burgundy). The hapless usurper had little choice but to quit the city, but he was soon unearthed. Nepos displayed remarkable restraint upon his rise to power, choosing to nominate his predecessor as a bishop instead of having him put to death, an act of kindness that he would one day come to regret.

Nepos' reign would prove to be as short-lived as his new bishop's, but before he was toppled by his own magister militum (a senior commanding officer in the Roman military), Orestes, he first had to suffer the ignominy of acknowledging the Gothic kingdom that had been established in Gaul. The fact that he had no alternative but to do so is testament to how feeble the empire had become by 475 CE.

Having been ejected from office in August by Orestes, Nepos escaped to his native Dalmatia to 'rule' at a distance. In truth he was emperor in name alone – as was ever the case in Ancient Rome, he who controlled the military also held the empire. In this case it was Orestes, a former servant of none other than Attila the Hun.

Despite his sudden and public deposition at the hands of an adviser he should have been able to trust, Nepos survived until 480 CE. Sources suggest that he was stabbed to death in his own villa, either by friends of a vengeful Glycerius (to whom Nepos owed his life) or on the direct orders of Odoacer, the man who would finally end Rome's rule of Italy.

Unusually for the age, Orestes decided not to rule himself, instead opting to crown his 15-year-old son Romulus Augustus as the new leader of a rapidly disintegrating Western Roman Empire in October 475 CE. His public reluctance to claim the throne for himself was merely an act; as father to the emperor and head of the military, he reigned from the shadows. His lust for power doomed his son to an ill-fated reign that ended in disaster.

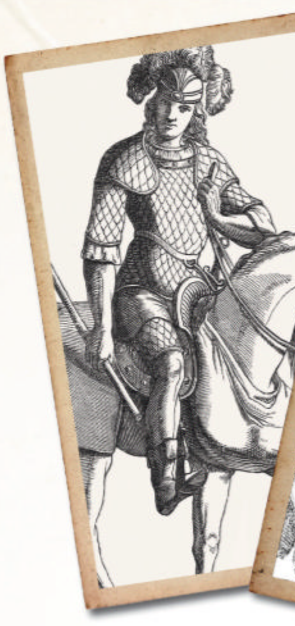
Mocked as 'Augustulus' (Little Augustus), history has often judged Rome's last Western emperor harshly, forgetting that he was a teenager forced into office by a father hungry to rule a shattered empire at a time when the formerly stable East was tearing itself apart.

Crowned in February 474 CE by his seven-year-old son as co-emperor, Zeno ruled as emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire until he was betrayed by a close advisor and Basiliscus. At the time of Romulus' rise to power, Zeno – who, along with his bitter rival for the throne, refused to accept Romulus as emperor in the West – was plotting what would turn out to be a successful return to Constantinople.

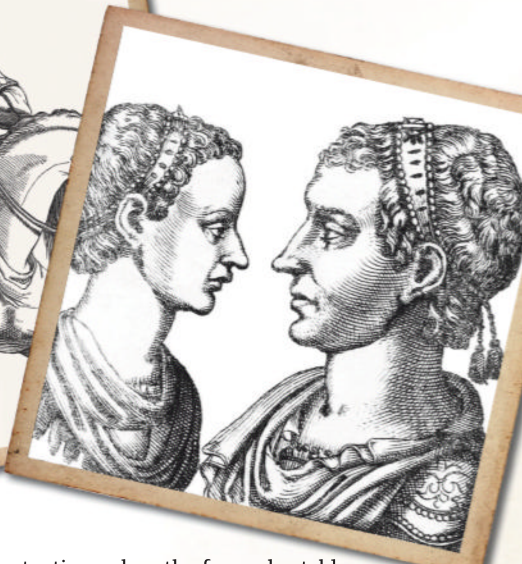
The extent to which Romulus was aware of the troubles in the Eastern Roman Empire is unclear, but he had little time to consider its ramifications – rebellion was afoot in his empire. Emboldened by the knowledge that the West was ailing, a confederation of Germanic tribes led by a formidable warrior named Odoacer decided to test the strength of Orestes' resilience by demanding that one-third of Italy should now be handed over to them.

When Orestes rebuffed their 'offer', Odoacer ignited a vicious uprising during which a rag-tag army led by Orestes was slaughtered outside the city of Placentia (modern-day Piacenza) and their leader executed. With the empire decapitated by Orestes' death, Odoacer was free to march on Ravenna in northern Italy, where on 2 September 476 CE his mercenary hordes once again capably set about annihilating a weakened Roman army.

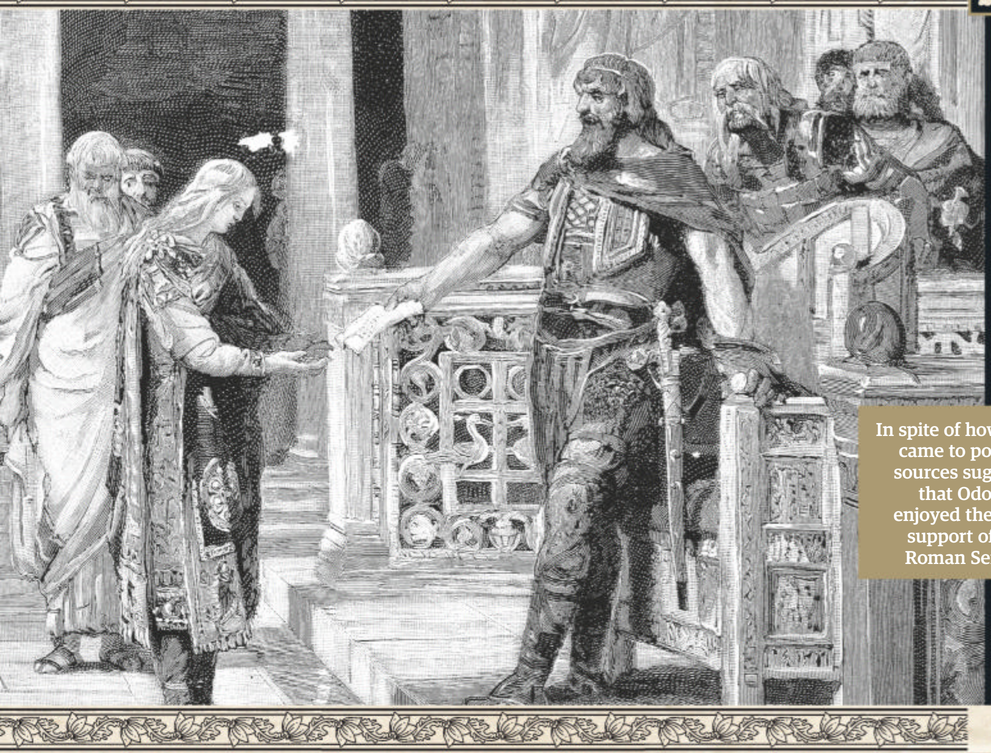
With nothing left standing between him and Odoacer's rampant army, young Romulus had no choice but to bend the knee to Italy's new conqueror and surrender the throne. In a matter of weeks, Odoacer had violently ended 1,200 years of Roman mastery of Italy, and in doing so he struck a final, fatal blow from which the Western Roman Empire would never recover. The once-great empire was at an end.



ABOVE-LEFT
Anthemius was appointed as emperor by Leo I in a move that removed him as a candidate for the throne of the Eastern Empire



ABOVE-RIGHT
Prior to his death in 473 CE, Leo I appointed his seven-year-old grandson Leo II as his heir



In spite of how he came to power, sources suggest that Odoacer enjoyed the full support of the Roman Senate

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15 Historic Deadly Diet Tips

Written by
Emily Staniforth

UNCOVER SOME OF THE PAST'S STRANGEST AND MOST DANGEROUS EATING HABITS AND WEIGHT-LOSS FADS

As the New Year approaches, many of us will be looking to undo the damage of the holidays, boost our health and nutrition and lose the couple of extra kilos we've inevitably put on. But how do we do that? In our modern times, we have become used to being bombarded with the latest and most innovative weight-loss solutions, from specific diets and restrictive eating to specialist pills and medications. Every year, new diets emerge and the advice on how to live a healthy life and eat a nutritious diet changes… but this is nothing new.

For centuries, fads and trends have dictated how people have approached their wellbeing and have convinced people to do some horrendous things to themselves in the name of health and weight loss. Here are some of history's most ridiculous and dangerous diet tips – but keep in mind that in 50 years time future generations may have some choice remarks regarding our own eating habits!

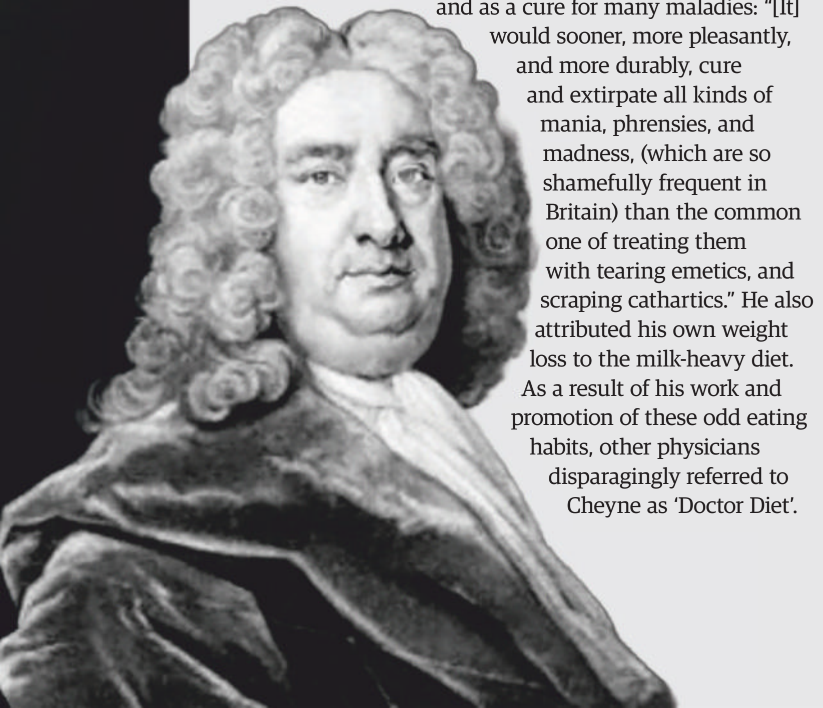
Toxic Turpentine

Though not necessarily ingested as part of a weight-loss plan, turpentine has been used throughout history for a number of reasons. Nowadays the liquid, which is acquired by extracting the resin of pine trees, is used as a solvent and paint thinner and is sold in hardware stores. But traditionally turpentine, which is flammable and highly toxic, has been used for medicinal purposes. The ancient Romans believed it acted as an anti-depressant, while Egyptian queen Cleopatra is said to have drunk small amounts to make her urine take on a floral scent. In the 1920s, turpentine was used during Prohibition in the USA to make bootleg gin. However, the side effects of ingesting turpentine are particularly nasty, including kidney damage and internal bleeding, so this didn't last long.

YME
CONII
Succ. Cydo-nior.
LAPE

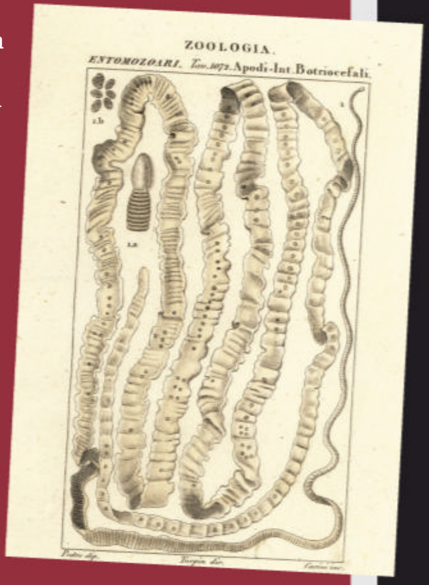
Milk and Seeds

Scottish physician George Cheyne (1672 – 1743) was a great proponent of eating well and moderately. At his heaviest, he weighed 203kg and described over-eating as a major reason for his, and many people's, ill health. Cheyne wrote extensively on health and longevity throughout his career and advocated for vegetarianism, moderate exercise and a restrictive diet. He is most associated with his exclusive milk and seed diet, which he recommended as a weight-loss method and as a cure for many maladies: "[It] would sooner, more pleasantly, and more durably, cure and extirpate all kinds of mania, phrensies, and madness, (which are so shamefully frequent in Britain) than the common one of treating them with tearing emetics, and scraping cathartics." He also attributed his own weight loss to the milk-heavy diet. As a result of his work and promotion of these odd eating habits, other physicians disparagingly referred to Cheyne as 'Doctor Diet'.



Parasitic Tapeworms

The Victorians had many strange ideas when it came to health and wellness. One of the most bizarre and dangerous was the idea that ingesting a parasite was a smart way to lose weight and maintain an ideal figure. The tapeworm diet saw people take desperate measures to slim down by swallowing a pill that contained a tapeworm egg. Once the egg hatched, the tapeworm would feed off the nutrients in the body, leading to weight loss. But, of course, having a parasite inside your body was not good for a person's overall health and side effects included nausea, abdominal pain, fever, infection and, terrifyingly, issues with organ function and death. It's unclear how many Victorians actually attempted the tapeworm diet, though rumours attributing opera singer Maria Callas' weight loss to a tapeworm in the 1950s perpetuated the interest in the deadly treatment well into the 20th Century.



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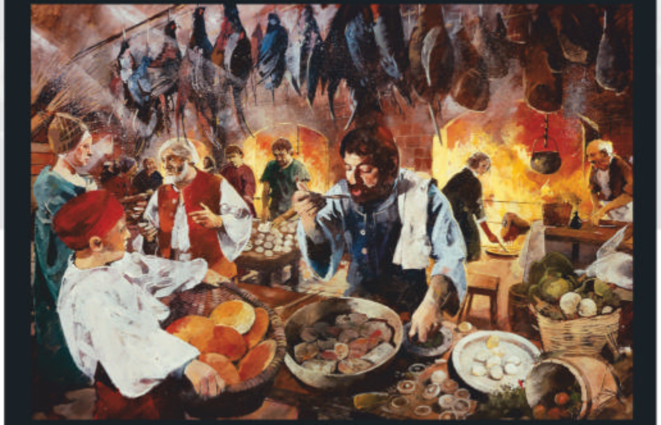


The Sumptuous Tudor Diet

Wealthy Tudors were notorious for their luxurious, heavy diets. High-class eating was not a matter of health and nutrition but rather a show of status and meals were laden with expensive foods like meats and spices rather than cheap vegetables. In just one year Elizabeth I's royal court consumed 8,200 sheep, 2,330 deer, 1,870 pigs, 1,240 oxen, 760 calves and 53 wild boar. The elite Tudor diet was calorie dense but lacking in nutrients, leading to numerous health and weight issues; it's no wonder that Henry VIII's weight skyrocketed once a jousting accident left him largely immobile. Sugar was also a valuable commodity at the Tudor court and royals and courtiers consumed a lot of it. As a result, Tudor dental hygiene was not the best and many high-status individuals, including Elizabeth I, had blackened and rotten teeth.

Cure-all Cabbage

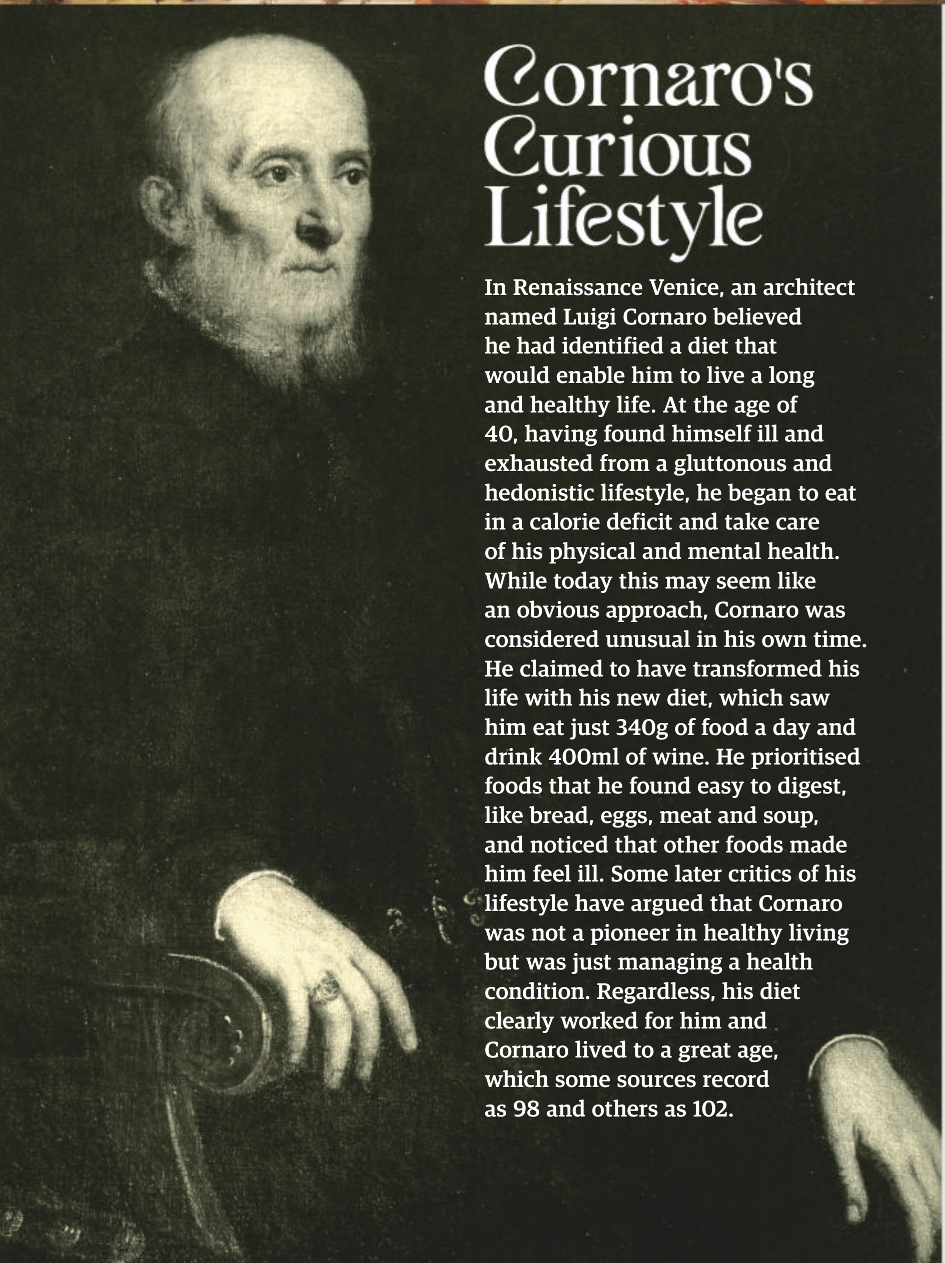
Nutrient-dense superfoods, like blueberries and spinach, have long been hailed for their healthy properties. The superfood of choice for Roman senator Cato the Elder (234-149 BCE) was cabbage, which he believed could cure almost any ailment. From constipation to open wounds to drunkenness, Cato had a cabbage-related remedy to offer. In his work *De Agri Cultura*, he lauds cabbage as the vegetable "which surpasses all other vegetables" and even suggests that nutrients can be gained from bathing in the urine of habitual cabbage eaters. It's just possible that Cato was right about the benefits of his cabbagey diet, as he lived to the grand old age of 85 when the average life expectancy of ancient Romans was just 35.

Deadly Bread

In the Victorian era, a seemingly innocuous staple food was causing illness due to some of its dodgy ingredients. White bread became more popular among the middle and upper classes of Victorian society as people began to believe it was more refined than the darker breads eaten by the lower classes. With bakers struggling to keep up with the increasing demand for reasonably priced white bread, some bakeries started to add extra secret ingredients to keep costs down and production up. These additions included a toxic aluminium compound called alum as well as chalk and, shockingly, ground-up bones. The adulteration of white bread led to a number of health issues, including malnutrition, bowel problems and, in some cases, death.

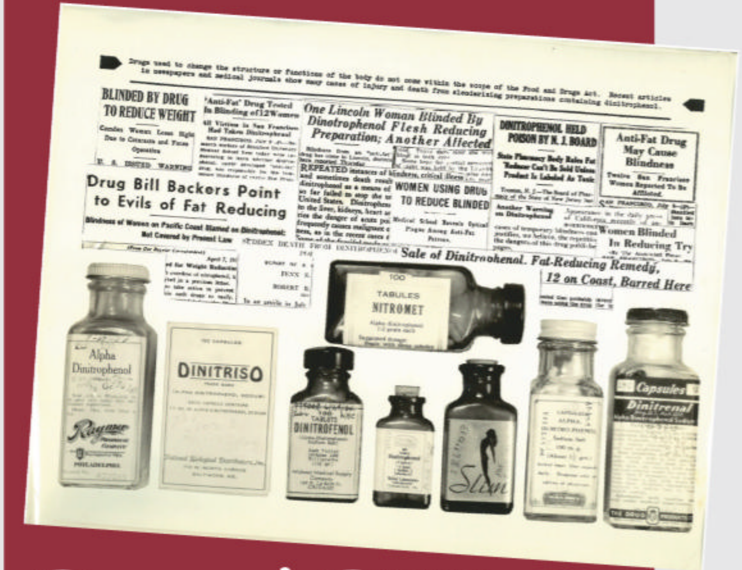
The Sleeping Beauty Diet

One of the weirdest weight-loss trends from history is arguably the so-called Sleeping Beauty diet, the basic premise of which was to sleep for as long as you could. If you were sleeping, you were not eating, and as such you should lose weight while you were unconscious. Of course, the human body is a lot more complex than that and scientists have condemned the 'diet' as ineffectual as sleeping actually causes the metabolism to slow down. But in the 1970s the Sleeping Beauty trend saw people taking sedatives in order to sleep for as long as possible. It's even rumoured that Elvis Presley attempted the diet by taking heavy sedatives and allegedly exploring the possibility of putting himself into an induced coma. Concerningly, reports of this bizarre trend making a comeback have surfaced in recent years.



Cornaro's Curious Lifestyle

In Renaissance Venice, an architect named Luigi Cornaro believed he had identified a diet that would enable him to live a long and healthy life. At the age of 40, having found himself ill and exhausted from a gluttonous and hedonistic lifestyle, he began to eat in a calorie deficit and take care of his physical and mental health. While today this may seem like an obvious approach, Cornaro was considered unusual in his own time. He claimed to have transformed his life with his new diet, which saw him eat just 340g of food a day and drink 400ml of wine. He prioritised foods that he found easy to digest, like bread, eggs, meat and soup, and noticed that other foods made him feel ill. Some later critics of his lifestyle have argued that Cornaro was not a pioneer in healthy living but was just managing a health condition. Regardless, his diet clearly worked for him and Cornaro lived to a great age, which some sources record as 98 and others as 102.



Drugs used to change the structure or functions of the body do not come within the scope of the Food and Drugs Act. Recent articles in newspapers and medical journals show many cases of injury and death from slenderizing preparations containing dinitrophenol.

BLINDED BY DRUG TO REDUCE WEIGHT

'Anti-Fat' Drug Tested In Blinding of 12 Women

One Lincoln Woman Blinded By Dinotrophenol Flesh Reducing Preparation; Another Affected

DINITROPHENOL HELD POISON BY N. J. BOARD

Anti-Fat Drug May Cause Blindness

Drug Bill Backers Point to Evils of Fat Reducing

WOMEN USING DRUG TO REDUCE BLINDED

Women Blinded In Reducing Try

Sale of Dinitrophenol. Fat-Reducing Remedy, 12 on Coast, Barred Here

Danger! DNP

In French munitions factories during the First World War, workers began to rapidly lose weight due to exposure to a toxic chemical called dinitrophenol (DNP). These side effects were noted and later studied at Stanford University in California. When scientists confirmed that DNP boosted metabolism, it began to be sold in weight-loss pills and was hugely popular in the 1930s. However, people taking DNP began to become seriously ill from side effects like liver failure and hyperthermia, and there were even a number of deaths. DNP was banned in the United States in 1938, but was once again sold from the 1980s onwards. Though it is known to be highly dangerous, DNP has been illegally sold for decades and its consumption has resulted in further deaths.

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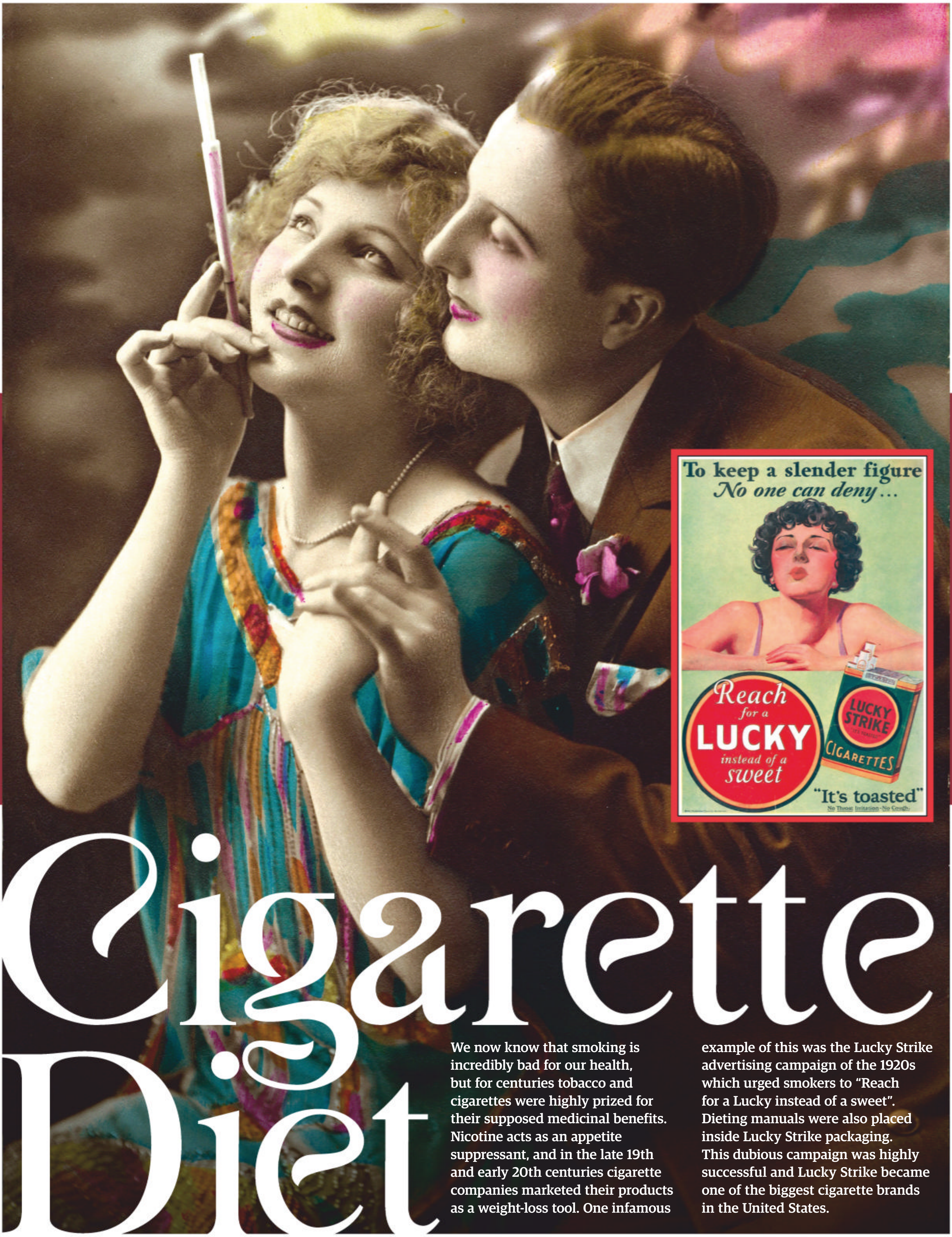
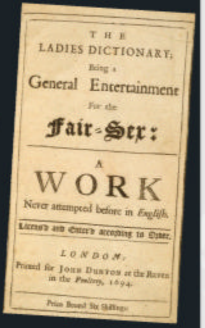

To keep a slender figure
No one can deny…
Reach for a LUCKY instead of a sweet
LUCKY STRIKE
CIGARETTES
"It's toasted"
No Throat Irritation-No Cough.

Cigarette Diet

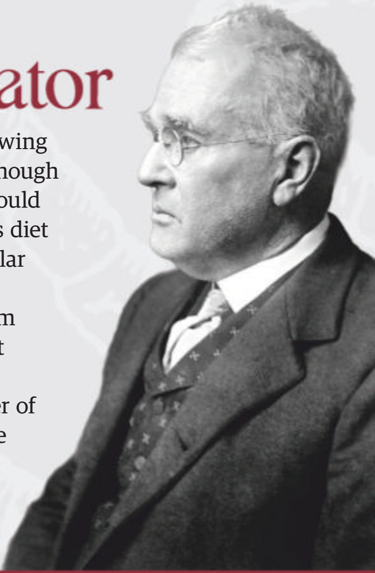
We now know that smoking is incredibly bad for our health, but for centuries tobacco and cigarettes were highly prized for their supposed medicinal benefits. Nicotine acts as an appetite suppressant, and in the late 19th and early 20th centuries cigarette companies marketed their products as a weight-loss tool. One infamous example of this was the Lucky Strike advertising campaign of the 1920s which urged smokers to “Reach for a Lucky instead of a sweet”. Dieting manuals were also placed inside Lucky Strike packaging. This dubious campaign was highly successful and Lucky Strike became one of the biggest cigarette brands in the United States.

Goose Greasing


THE
LADIES DICTIONARY;
Being a
General Entertainment
For the
Fair-Sex:
A
WORK
Never attempted before in *Engliſh.*
Licens'd and Enter'd according to Order.
LONDON,
Printed for JOHN DUNTON at the Raven
in the *Poultry*, 1694.
Price Bound Six Shillings.

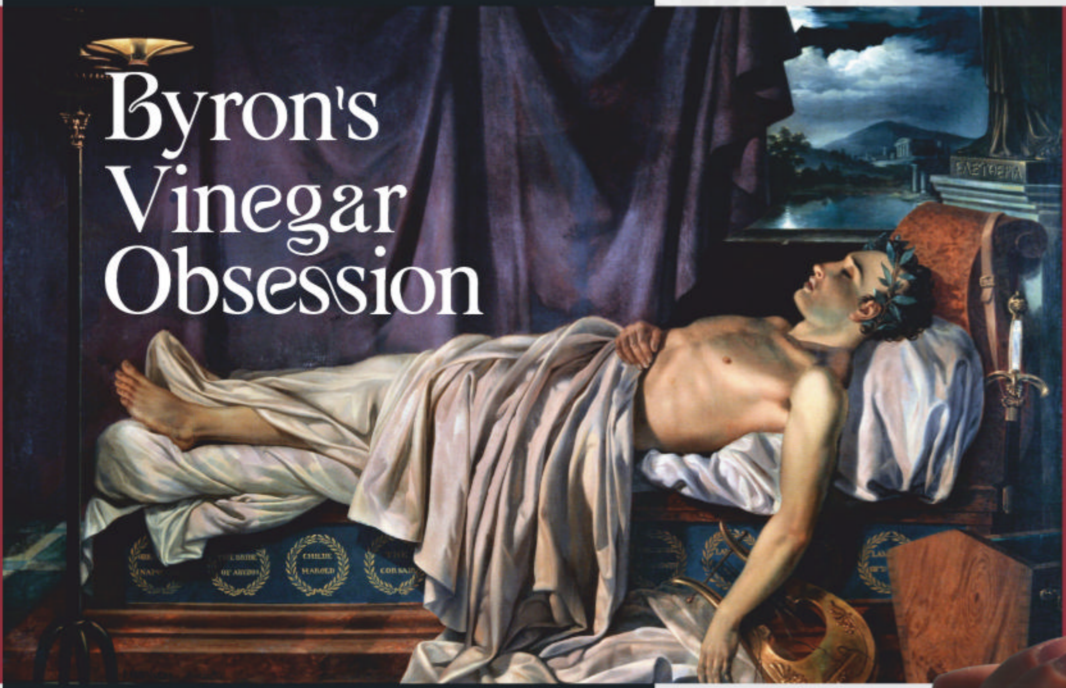
In 1694, the *Ladies Dictionary; Being a General Entertainment for the Fair-Sex* was published anonymously. The book was a manual for women and gave practical advice on everyday matters, including how to enhance one's appearance and how to lose weight. Some of the strangest pieces of weight-loss advice in the book involve women putting various ingredients and liquids on their body. Bathing in wine, chamomile, sage and wormwood is one such weird solution, while another suggests women should rub the areas of their body where they want to lose fat with goose grease, wax and turpentine. It seems unlikely that any of these weight loss tips would have really worked.

The Great Masticator



One of the strangest fad diets of the last few centuries has to be the creation of American health enthusiast Horace Fletcher (1849 – 1919). His method advocated that every mouthful of food should be chewed at least 100 times until it had basically liquefied. The idea was that chewing for so long would result in a person becoming tired of the process and therefore they would eat less. In many ways, Fletcher's theory of chewing more did make sense, though his extreme approach could lead to constipation. His diet tip was extremely popular and became known as Fletcherism, earning him the nickname The Great Masticator (yes, really!). Fletcher wrote a number of bestselling books on the subject and became so wealthy that he bought a Venetian palace.

Byron's Vinegar Obsession



Renowned Romantic poet Lord Byron (1788 – 1824) was obsessed with his weight. It was a fixation that began in childhood, possibly due to his turbulent relationship with his mother, who was known to be overweight. Byron is said to have tried several different diets in his quest to stay slim, the most shocking of which was his excessive use of vinegar in later life. He was convinced that by soaking his food in vinegar his appetite would decrease and he would find it easier to lose weight. Byron was right and he shed plenty of kilos, but his health suffered hugely in the process because the massive amounts of vinegar he consumed damaged his stomach lining. In his later years he was described as looking sickly and bloated.

Poisonous Pills

Specialist medication for dieting is not just a recent trend. In the 19th century, numerous drugs were marketed and sold with the promise that they would help people lose weight. However, some of the key ingredients in many of these pills were arsenic and strychnine, both of which are extremely poisonous. To make things worse, the presence of such toxic ingredients was not always made clear. While ingesting arsenic could aid in weight-loss, it could also cause serious health problems such as cancer, organ failure and brain dysfunction. The side effects of consuming strychnine were equally horrific. Sadly, there were many cases of people dying as a result of taking these deadly diet pills.

POISON
100
Dispensary Tablets
No. 3
ARSENIC TRIOXIDE
(ARSENOUS ACID)
1 grain
3977
WM. R. WARNER & CO.
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Hot Sand Sweats

Have you ever gone to the beach, covered yourself in sand and waited patiently to lose a couple of kilos? No? In the 18th century some people believed that this really worked. In 1829, diet guru and royal surgeon William Wadd suggested that covering the body in hot sand would lead to increased sweating and therefore increased fat loss. He was right about the sweating but so wrong otherwise. Increased sweating does not lead to fat loss, just the secretion of water and salt. Following Wadd's plan would likely only lead to dehydration and uncomfortable itching from the sand.

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RISE OF THE WAAF

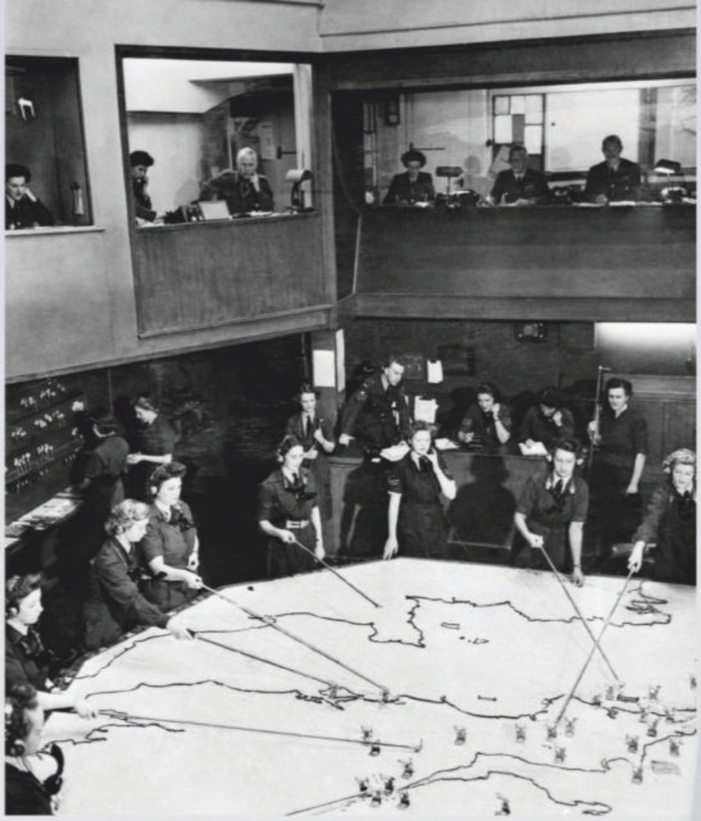
How a group of women risked their lives to protect their nation in WWII and shatter social norms

Written by Frances White

The Women's Royal Air Force (WRAF) first came into being along with the Royal Air Force (RAF) in April 1918. However, by 1920 it was disbanded along with the other women's services. It was not until June 1939, when the Second World War seemed inevitable, that the Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF) was formally established by King George VI. The Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS) had previously existed as the female equivalent of the Territorial Army, but the motive behind the creation of the WAAF was that a separate women's

WAAF Nursing Orderlies treated wounded troops as they were evacuated from the frontline

© Getty Images



ABOVE-LEFT During the war many women worked in vital manufacturing jobs

ABOVE-MIDDLE WAAFs played essential roles at RAF Fighter Command during the Battle of Britain

ABOVE-RIGHT A poster encouraging women to sign up to the WAAF in WWII

BELOW-RIGHT Members of the WAAF were also taught self-defence

air service was needed. It was not a totally independent service but rather interlinked to the RAF so women could be brought in to replace RAF personnel when required. Recruitment for the WAAF was not just from Great Britain; many overseas women also joined the organisation, and recruitment took place in the Middle East from 1942, including recruits from the Egyptian, Palestinian, Greek and Cypriot communities.

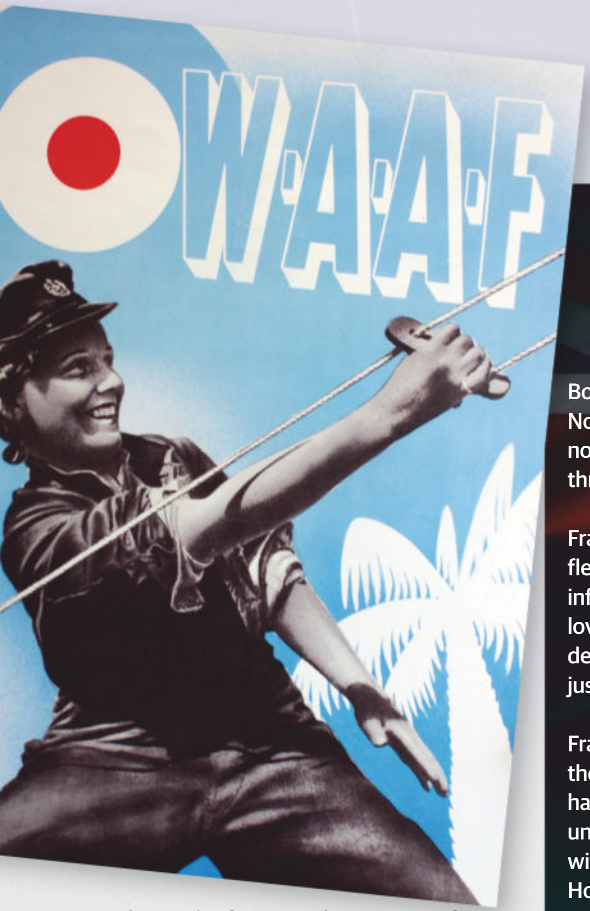
The roles of women recruited into the WAAF initially consisted of clerks, kitchen orderlies and drivers. This allowed men previously fulfilling these roles to be moved to frontline duties. These roles were generally seen as more acceptable for women due to their domestic nature. The ability of women to fulfil more mentally taxing roles was doubted from the start of the WAAF's formation. However, as the war progressed and situation became more dire, the strain the RAF was under led it to place women in roles previously thought unfathomable, including telephony, telegraphy and intercepting codes and ciphers. Women also entered the male-dominated worlds of mechanics and engineering.

A common posting for WAAF members was to work in the radar control systems as reporters and plotters. Several roles, however, were unavailable to women, such as actually serving as a pilot, although women did fly military aircraft in the capacity of the Air Transport Auxiliary (ATA). Over 150 women flew with the ATA during the war, delivering new planes from factories to RAF units and taking planes back for repairs. Because the RAF thought it unacceptable for women pilots to fly military aircraft, all ATA female members were civilians. The Under Secretary of State for Air Lord Balfour later commented that "the Air Transport Auxiliary were civilians in uniforms who played a soldier's part in the Battle for Britain".

The WAAFs were a vital resource during the Battle of Britain. One role of immense importance was the operation of barrage balloon sites. This involved raising and lowering the balloons, which were designed to deter enemy bombers by floating above potential targets. The balloons forced the German pilots to fly at a higher altitude and lessen the accuracy of their bombing. The balloons also had the additional benefit of bringing the aircraft in range of anti-aircraft guns.

Initially, women were believed to not have the physical strength required to fulfil such a role, due to the 20-metre-long, nine-metre-high balloons. It was also very challenging to keep the balloons inflated and in position, particularly during bad weather. However, the first female volunteers smashed expectations, operating the sites with skill and speed. Eventually, in Britain over 1,000 barrage balloon sites were operated by women.

> "THE WORK OF WAAF PLOTTERS WAS OF IMMENSE IMPORTANCE DURING THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN"



The work of WAAF plotters was of immense importance during the Battle of Britain. Based in the sector station operations rooms, the plotters worked in teams of ten, meticulously tracking the direction and size of incoming German raids. Wooden blocks placed around a large table charted the raids, listing the name and strength of the incoming units, as well as the direction they were coming from in the form of arrows placed behind each block. They were also colour-coded to denote how recent the information was. This allowed a quick and comprehensive view of the most dangerous and time-critical threats to the nation. The men seated above the plotters used the information provided by the women to direct squadrons into action and communicate the vital information to other squadrons.

During the summer of 1940, there were thousands of WAAFs placed in Fighter Command air bases across the country to assist in the Dowding System, including bases at Manston, Hawkringe and Biggin Hill. These were especially dangerous places to work as they were often prime targets for Luftwaffe bombs during the Battle of Britain.

One of the worst-affected bases was RAF Biggin Hill in Kent, which saw 39 people killed in one attack on 30 August. WAAF members Sergeant Joan Mortimer, Flight Officer Elspeth Henderson and Sergeant Helen Turner all worked at Biggin Hill as teleprinter operators. On 1 September 1940, the base came under heavy attack from the Luftwaffe while the women were inside the building. Showing immense bravery, Turner continued to work the switchboard even as the building was falling down around her, while Henderson kept in contact with Fighter Command Headquarters in Uxbridge despite having been knocked to the ground when the operations room took a direct hit from a German bomb. Both women worked tirelessly through the night to keep the station operational. The two WAAFs were so determined to carry out their duties in the face of mortal danger that they only left their posts when a fire broke out and they were ordered to leave.

Meanwhile, Mortimer was in the armoury when the raid began. This was an incredibly dangerous place to be as the room was packed with tons of high-explosives. Despite this she stayed put at the telephone switchboard, ensuring that messages could be relayed to the defence posts near the airfield. When the situation became dire, Mortimer snatched a handful of red flags and hurried outside, marking all the unexploded bombs scattered around the building. Even a bomb exploding nearby didn't stop her. All three women were awarded Military Medals in

▶

BRITAIN'S MUSLIM HEROINE

This spy made the ultimate sacrifice in the fight against fascism

Born in Moscow on the dawn of the new year in 1914, Noor Inayat Khan was a descendant of Indian Muslim nobility but would go on to make a name for herself through her own bravery.

Khan first lived in England, then moved to France. When the country fell to German troops she fled back to England. At heart a pacifist, she was influenced by the teachings of Gandhi. It was this love of peace that motivated her to play a role in defeating the tyranny of the Nazis. This desire for justice led her to join the WAAF in November 1940.

After two years of training, Khan was flown to France to become an operator in occupied territory, the first woman sent there for this role. Her superiors had doubts about her suitability, saying that she was unstable and temperamental and "not overburdened with brains", but they did praise her work ethic. However, in the field, Khan worked with impressive speed and accuracy.

Her job was one of the most dangerous of all – to send and receive messages about sabotage operations and where to send weapons for resistance fighters. The operators were at great risk of detection, a possibility that only became more likely as the war progressed. Khan had to take on a new identity, that of children's nurse 'Jeanne-Marie Renier', but to her colleagues she had the codename 'Madeleine'. Despite multiple members of the network being arrested, Khan remained in the resistance, moving from place to place to avoid capture.

Sadly, this only lasted a few months. In October 1943, Khan was betrayed by one of two French women; either a double agent or a spurned lover who'd lost the affections of a man she liked to Khan. Either way, Khan was captured by the Gestapo, who used the operator's secret signals to trick London into sending more agents into their waiting hands. Khan managed to escape from captivity but was arrested again within a few hours. By November 1943, she had been transferred to Pforzheim Prison, where she was classed as highly dangerous and kept in chains.

Despite her horrendous treatment, Khan refused to reveal any information about her comrades. By September 1944, the Gestapo gave up their interrogations and sent her to Dachau concentration camp, where she was executed. Her last word was reported as "Liberté".

Khan was posthumously awarded the George Cross

> "KHAN'S JOB WAS ONE OF THE MOST DANGEROUS OF ALL – TO SEND AND RECEIVE MESSAGES ABOUT SABOTAGE OPERATIONS"

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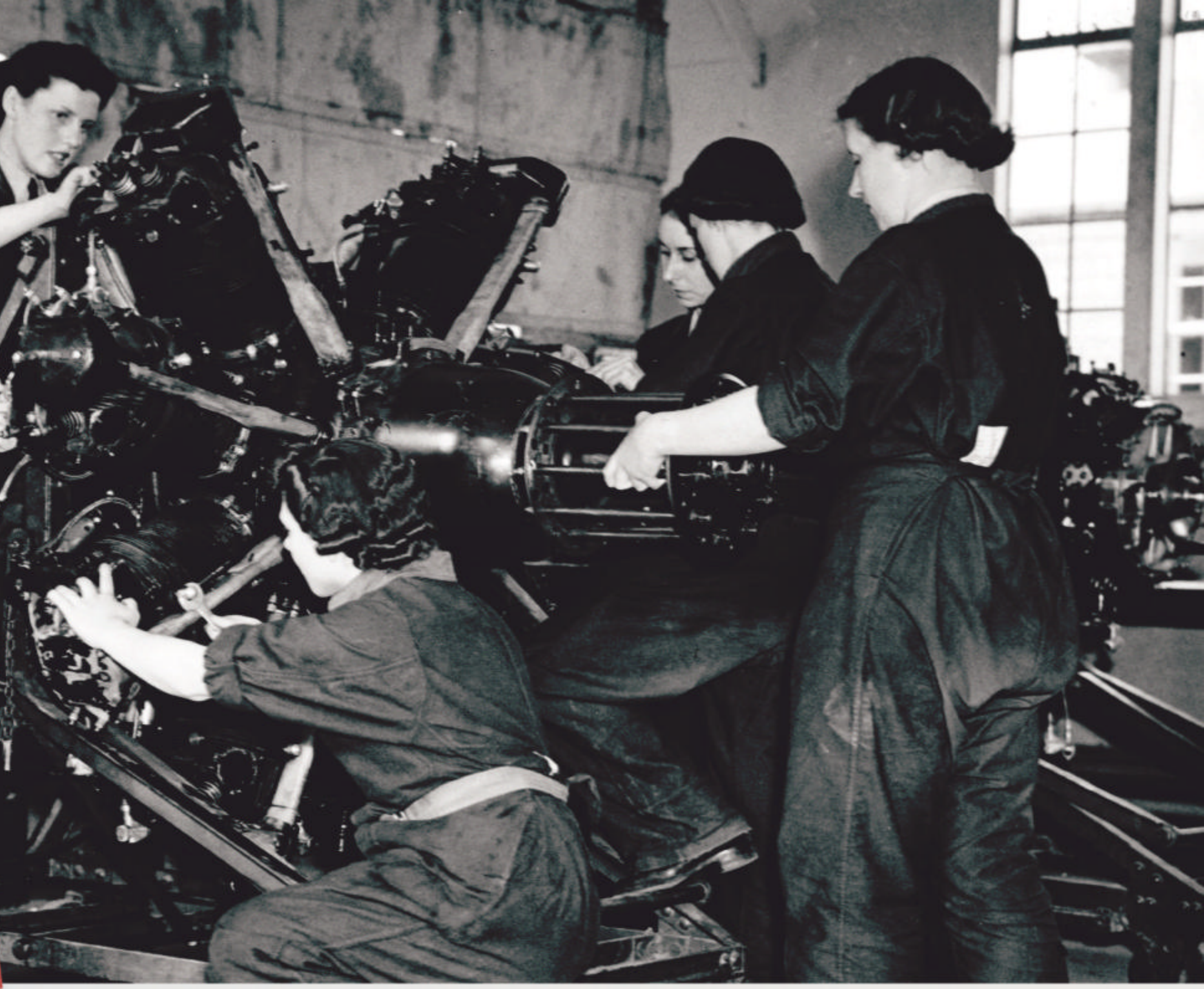

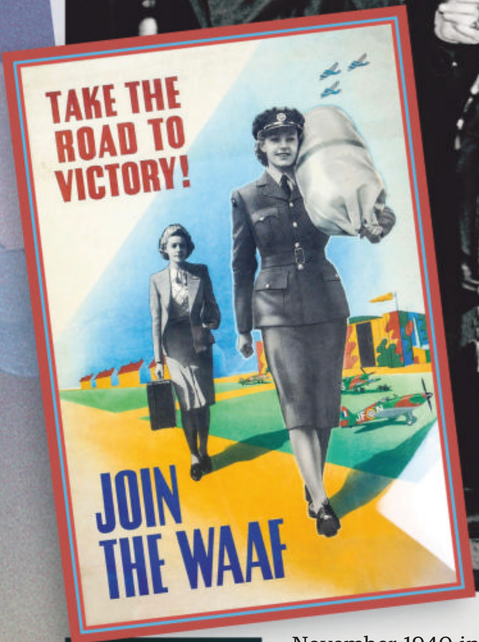
TAKE THE ROAD TO VICTORY!
JOIN THE WAAF

ABOVE The WAAF's contributions were essential in keeping the RAF flying

ABOVE-INSET By 1945, 250,000 women had served in the WAAF in over 110 different roles

BELOW WAAF instrument repairers with aerial cameras

November 1940 in recognition of their valour and commitment to duty.

Another branch of the WAAF was that of the Nursing Orderlies. These women flew on RAF transport planes, putting themselves in immense danger in order to help evacuate the wounded from the battlefields of Normandy after D-Day in June 1944. Nicknamed 'Flying Nightingales', these nurses would administer oxygen, injections and deal with injuries such as missing limbs, head trauma, broken bones and burns. The Flying Nightingales brought back almost 100,000 wounded soldiers from Europe to Britain. They also carried vital supplies to the battlefield. An incredibly risky role, the women were given parachutes on the flight out, but on the way back they were ordered to stay with the plane and treat the survivors, and the parachutes were locked away. The planes were so full with casualties that the nurses had to stand the entire journey back. These women were not recognised as being RAF nurses, else they would have had held the rank of officer. For all intents and purposes they were volunteers and regarded as civilians in uniforms, with no rank and no medals. For decades the bravery and sacrifice of these nurses went unacknowledged until, in October 2008, the Duchess of Cornwall awarded the seven surviving WAAF nurses lifetime achievement awards for their service to the nation during the conflict.

> "AT ITS PEAK THE WAAF HAD OVER 180,000 MEMBERS AND WAS RECRUITING 2,000 WOMEN EACH WEEK"

It's impossible to overstate how just vital the WAAF was to the Second World War effort, especially during the Battle of Britain. At its peak the WAAF had over 180,000 members and was recruiting 2,000 women each week. At RAF Uxbridge, responsible for commanding all the Allied aircraft in southeast England, 85 percent of the staff in the bunker were WAAFs.

Despite their remarkable contribution, WAAFs were only paid two-thirds as much as their male counterparts. Without the bravery and dedication of the WAAF the RAF would have been unable to fill all the necessary roles, severely jeopardising the chances of victory in the Battle of Britain. For women this was a huge achievement, not only in terms of the war effort but also in regards to their place in society. While previously their ability to contribute had been in doubt, the women's tireless work during the conflict proved they were more than capable of carrying out many demanding, dangerous – and vital – roles.

Six Military Medals were awarded to WAAFs for their courage and exceptional service, but for many, the WAAFs' greatest contribution was the support they provided, which was crucial when the German bombs began to fall. Members of the WAAF served not only in Britain but also in the United States, Egypt and in various countries across Europe. In 1949, the WAAF was reformed into the Women's Royal Air Force, and in 1994 it was fully integrated into the RAF.

Today, women fulfil all roles within the air force, including, in 2017, the RAF Regiment, with the first women joining the specialist corps in January 2020.

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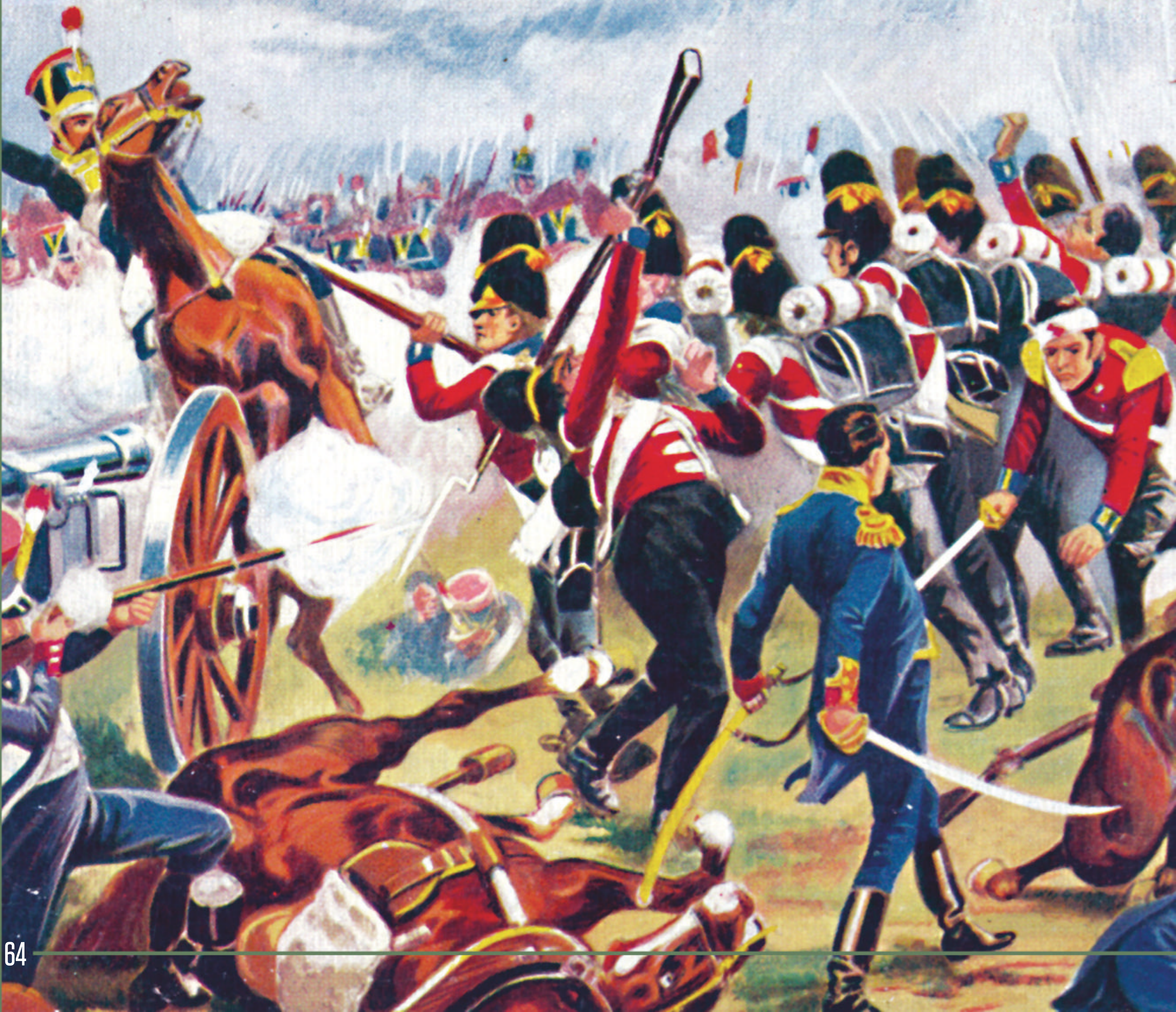
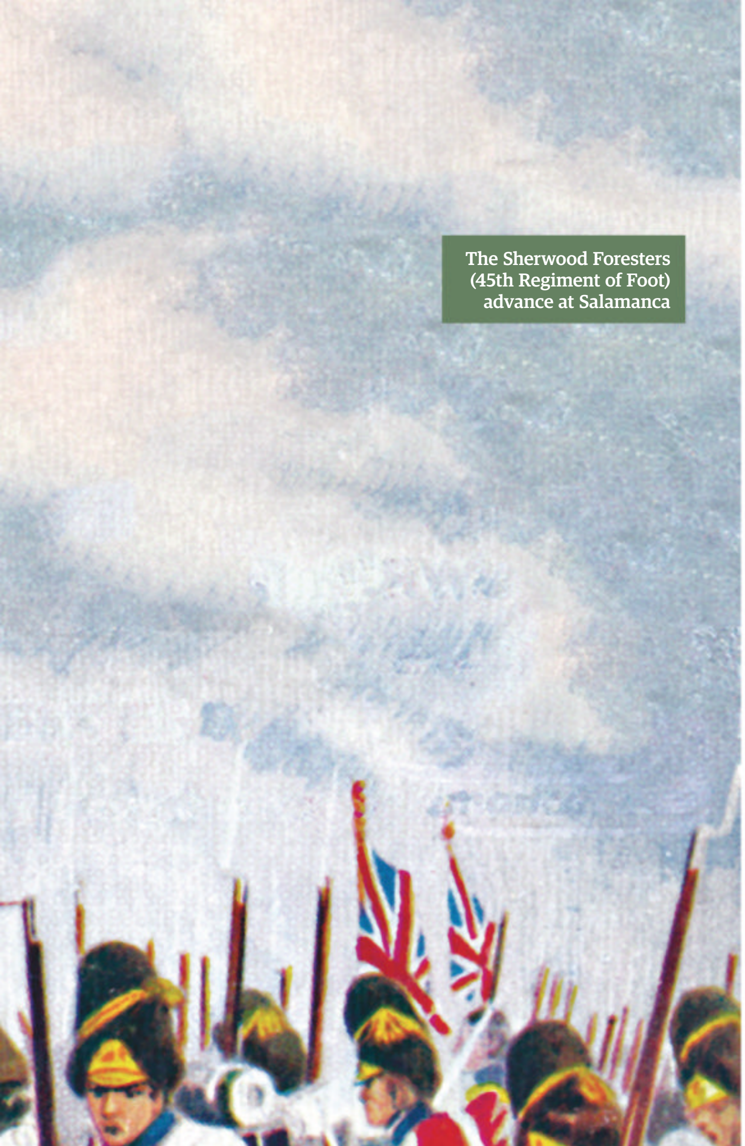
SALAMANCA

ARAPILES, SALAMANCA, SPAIN
22 JULY 1812

Written by Louis Hardiman





The Sherwood Foresters (45th Regiment of Foot) advance at Salamanca

Arthur Wellesley dismounted to settle in for dinner on early afternoon, 22 July 1812. For almost a week, his army had raced to keep up with French manoeuvres to avoid being outflanked. As he tucked into his chicken on the Lesser Arapiles observation point, Wellesley (who was given the title Duke of Wellington in 1814) could see the French Army deploying below. Looking to his right, he saw five of Auguste de Marmont's divisions shifting west, ready to cut off the British retreat back to Portugal. "My God! That will do," Wellesley exclaimed, seeing that the Seventh Division led by Jean Guillaume Barthélemy Thomières, followed by Antoine Louis Popon de Maucune's Fifth Division, had outstripped their comrades. Tossing a half-eaten chicken leg over his shoulder, Wellesley jumped onto his horse and rode 5km west. His destination was Major General Edward Pakenham, his brother-in-law and commander of the Third Division. "Edward, move on with the third division – take the hills in your front and drive everything before you," Wellesley ordered. "I will, my Lord, by God!" Pakenham replied, and his division raced to engage Thomières' men before the other French divisions could catch up.

Wellesley's opportunism sparked the 1812 offensive in the Peninsular War. A chance to cross the border from Portugal and challenge French dominance in Spain came when Napoleon sent 25,000 men east to join the invasion of Russia that, combined with his attack on Valencia, left French forces in Spain stretched. While Spanish guerillas distracted the occupiers, Wellesley entered Spain on 19 January, seizing Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. Meanwhile, Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill led a force to destroy the bridge over the Tagus at Almaraz, isolating Marmont's Army of Portugal at Salamanca from Nicolas-Jean de Dieu Soult's Army of the South at Seville.

When Wellesley arrived in a valley south of Salamanca, he met Marmont with near parity of numbers. Marmont saw an opportunity to cut off Wellesley's return to Portugal and for six days attempted to manoeuvre around his flank. Wellesley's army marched in parallel, often within cannon shot, to protect his flank. Marmont finally gained the upper hand on 22 July when he took the Greater Arapiles and sought to use it as a pivot. Convinced that the Allies would be too cautious to attack, his left flank overcommitted and opened the door for Wellesley.

MARMONT'S MISTAKE PUNISHED

Marmont didn't realise the opportunity he had created for Wellesley until it was too late (the French commander would later claim that he knew his divisions had become isolated). Just as Marmont looked

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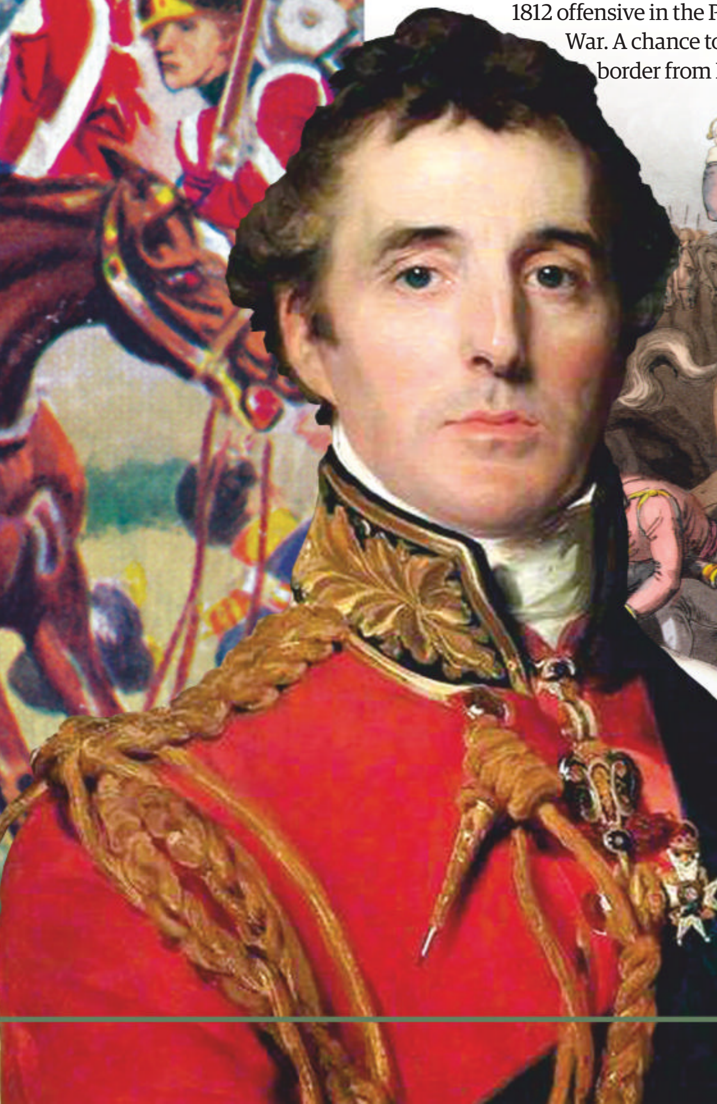

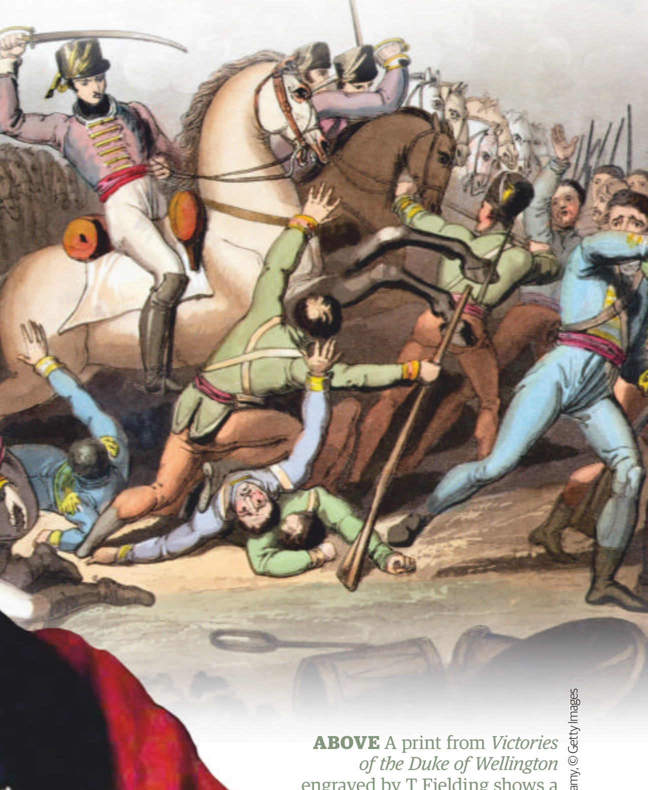

ABOVE A print from *Victories of the Duke of Wellington* engraved by T Fielding shows a scene from Salamanca

LEFT Wellesley wearing his field marshal uniform, painted in 1815

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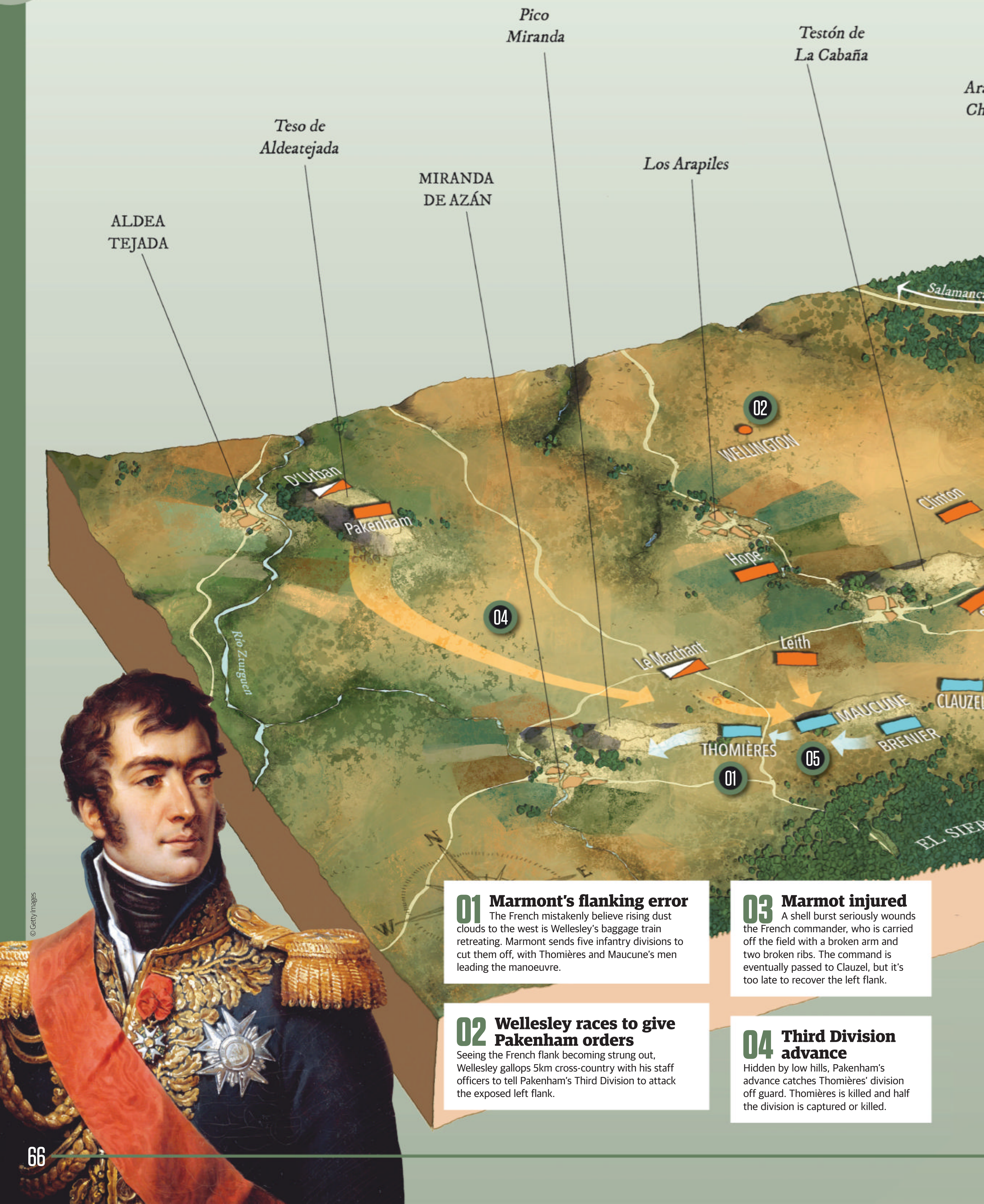
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01 Marmont's flanking error

The French mistakenly believe rising dust clouds to the west is Wellesley's baggage train retreating. Marmont sends five infantry divisions to cut them off, with Thomières and Maucune's men leading the manoeuvre.

02 Wellesley races to give Pakenham orders

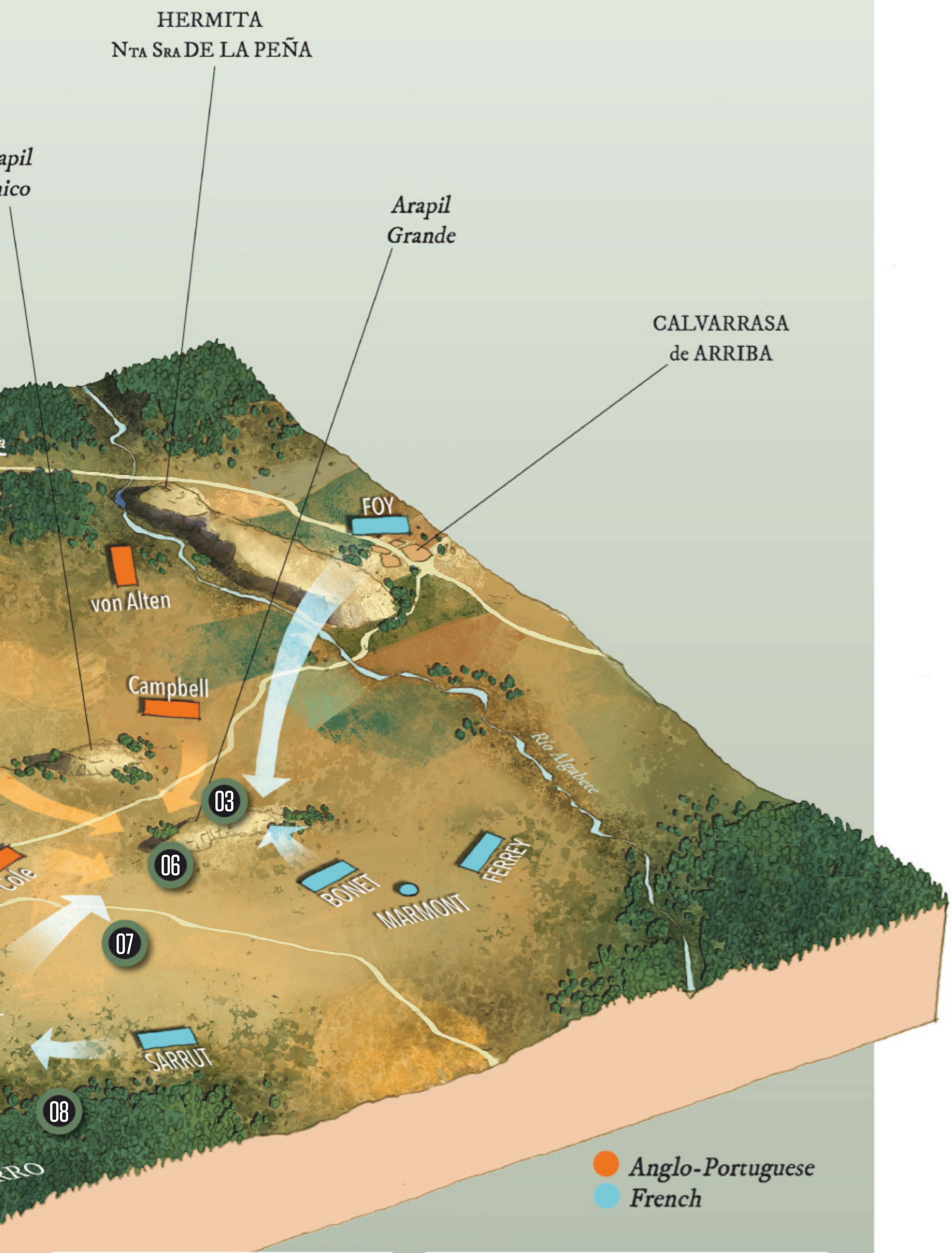
Seeing the French flank becoming strung out, Wellesley gallops 5km cross-country with his staff officers to tell Pakenham's Third Division to attack the exposed left flank.

03 Marmot injured

A shell burst seriously wounds the French commander, who is carried off the field with a broken arm and two broken ribs. The command is eventually passed to Clauzel, but it's too late to recover the left flank.

04 Third Division advance

Hidden by low hills, Pakenham's advance catches Thomières' division off guard. Thomières is killed and half the division is captured or killed.



Map illustration: Rocío Espín Piñar

05 Fifth Division routed

The British attack the French Fifth Division, utilising support from two Portuguese brigades and Le Marchant's dragoons. British infantry breaks the French lines and the cavalry surges into the gaps. Elements of the Sixth Division are caught in the collapse.

06 Cole attacks the centre

The Fourth Division under Lowry Cole attacks the French centre, supported by an assault on the Greater Arapile by Denis Pack's Portuguese brigade. The Portuguese efforts are unsuccessful and Cole's men crack.

07 Clauzel's counterattack fails

Desperate to salvage the dire situation, Clauzel counter-attacks against Cole's weakened division. After initial success against Cole, Clinton's fresh Sixth Division moves in and forces Clauzel to retreat.

08 French escape

The French break and flee south towards woodland. Ferrey's Third Division mounts a heroic rearguard action on the edge of the woodland. It makes use of a steep hillside to inflict heavy casualties on the pursuing Allied forces and gives its comrades a chance to escape.

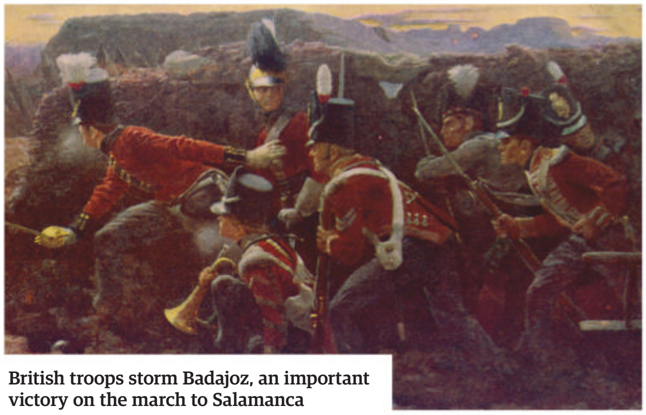
over to his staff, ready to give orders for the two divisions to slow down, a British cannon fired an explosive shell from the Lesser Arapile towards the Greater Arapile. By pure chance, it burst close to Marmont, breaking his arm, two ribs and any chance of communicating his order. Whether this was the case or a white lie told by a humiliated general trying to defend himself, Marmont's evacuation left the French rudderless at a crucial turning point. The command was passed on to Bertrand Clauzel, but he was not immediately available as a surgeon was removing a piece of shrapnel from his heel. His replacement, General Jean Bonet, had barely taken charge before shrapnel also took him out of action. By the time Clauzel's wound had been treated, an hour had passed and the French were facing disaster.

A combination of luck and tactical awareness meant Pakenham's Third Division advance was through a slight valley, dead ground invisible to Thomières. The French were hit square in the face, and hastily gathered light infantry skirmishers and canister shot did little to buy Thomières time to organise his defence. With 4,500 men to Pakenham's 5,800, the French could present a defensive position 270m long, with two-thirds of their men able to fire their muskets. The British attacked with a crescent line 450m long, outflanking the French force. The collapse that followed happened at such speed among the forwardmost brigades that the men behind were confronted with the terrifying sight of their bruised and bloodied comrades running for their lives through the ranks – a tide of redcoats clambering over French corpses, in close pursuit.

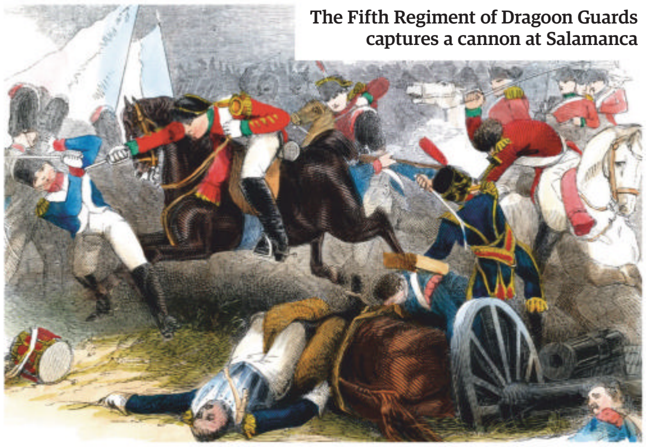
Only a few squadrons of French light cavalry made it past Brigadier General Benjamin D'Urban's Portuguese dragoons to disrupt Pakenham's assault. Those that did caused chaos among the ranks. Private William Brown, marching with a brigade that suffered in the cavalry attack, recalled his terror: "Several [of my comrades] had their arms dashed from their shoulders, and I saw more than one with their heads completely cloven." Despite their ferocity, these cavalry actions were too small to save the doomed Seventh Division. Leaving the deceased Thomières in their wake and killing or capturing half of his men, Pakenham had taken the Seventh Division out of the battle and was now positioned astride the Monte de Azan rise, ready to continue pressing forward.

WELLESLEY'S ECHELON ATTACK

After destroying Thomières' division, Wellesley ordered a series of attacks in an echelon moving west to east. The ▶



British troops storm Badajoz, an important victory on the march to Salamanca



The Fifth Regiment of Dragoon Guards captures a cannon at Salamanca

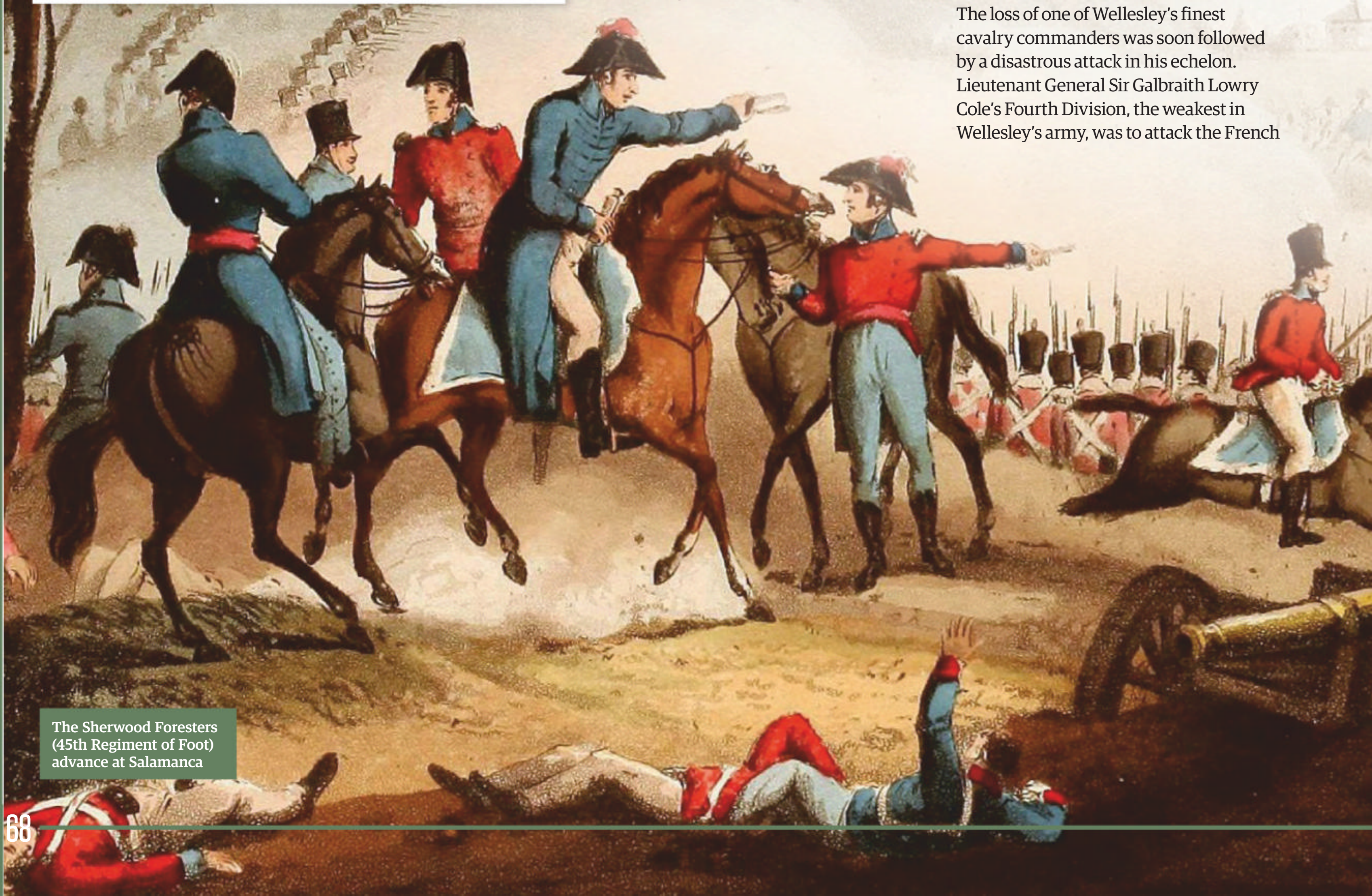
first push came from the British Fifth Division, led by Lieutenant General James Leith, supported by Major General John Le Marchant's dragoons. They had been waiting anxiously as their numbers were gradually thinned by French artillery fire and excited by the prospect of close combat. This assault aimed to isolate and destroy Maucune's Fifth Division. Despite holding the high ground on the Monte de Azan, the slope up to Maucune's position was too gradual to meaningfully slow Leith's push. Furthermore, Leith's 1,000-strong light infantry contingent managed to hold back Maucune's skirmishers, meaning the advance could continue unharried and in perfect order. Simultaneously, Major General John Hope's Seventh Division moved into the gap left by the Fifth Division, ready to act as a reserve if the initial assault was unsuccessful.

The British infantry arrived before the dragoons, meeting Maucune's columns head-on. Experienced units, veterans of previous Peninsular War battles, led the advance. Little is known about Maucune's attempted defence, but low casualty rates on the flanks of Leith's advance suggest Maucune didn't attempt counter-flanking manoeuvres. The French fell into disorder upon seeing Le Marchant's cavalry, with some forming square and others remaining in columns. British infantry broke the first and second lines in a vicious bayonet charge. Shortly after, Le Marchant's cavalry swept into the gaps. They charged at full speed into Maucune's shaken men, who were disorientated by dust, smoke and the dazzling late afternoon sun.

The Fifth Division routed. Le Marchant's dragoons charged them down during what is widely considered the most successful cavalry assault of Wellesley's career. Fusing into a solid line and with plenty of energy left, the British cavalry pushed on past Maucune's force. They could attack with reckless abandon as there was no threat of a French cavalry counterattack. Le Marchant personally took down six infantrymen. The charge reached Brigade Taupin, an element of the French Sixth Division that became caught up in the collapse. They could not simultaneously fend off the dragoons while absorbing the survivors of Maucune's division. Le Marchant's men had destroyed eight French battalions and captured at least two Eagles, with the presence of a third still hotly debated. However, the success was bittersweet as Le Marchant was shot from his saddle and killed.

TRIUMPH TO DISASTER & BACK AGAIN

The loss of one of Wellesley's finest cavalry commanders was soon followed by a disastrous attack in his echelon. Lieutenant General Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole's Fourth Division, the weakest in Wellesley's army, was to attack the French



The Sherwood Foresters (45th Regiment of Foot) advance at Salamanca

> “THERE THEY ARE, MY LADS! JUST LET THEM FEEL THE TEMPER OF YOUR BAYONETS!”

centre. Their advance exposed them to artillery on the Greater Arapile and Bonet’s men on the reverse slope. Wellington called on the Portuguese Brigade led by Brigadier General Denis Pack to counteract the threat by attacking the Greater Arapile, a farcical endeavour from the start. Coming out from cover, they immediately came under fire from French artillery. The survivors had to climb a slope too steep for a horse to ascend. The enemy waited in line atop a small cliff face, approximately 1.2m high. Unable to get over the cliff, the Portuguese were stranded and fell at a shocking speed when Bonet’s division sallied out around the eastern flank of the Greater Arapiles to swamp them.

Cole’s Fourth Division wavered against a counterattack without the anticipated Portuguese support. Units from Bonet’s Division not engaged on the Greater Arapile attacked Cole’s left flank while Clauzel joined the push along with eight squadrons of dragoons led by Pierre François Xavier Boyer. These efforts broke the Fourth Division, but instead of consolidating his gains, Clauzel committed the second fatal French error. He ordered his Second Division to continue towards the Lesser Arapile, the hinge of Wellesley’s position, aiming to exploit the gap left by Cole’s division. Taking it would collapse the British centre and allow the French to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat. However, Wellesley had ensured defence in depth with Major General Henry Clinton’s Sixth Division ready to take over. The advancing French were met by Clinton’s fresh men, who fired volley after volley into their ranks. Bonet’s division collapsed, leaving only four French divisions still able to participate, with Clauzel’s men also taking a hammering.

REARGUARD HEROISM

The French cracked, with no chance of recovery. Bonet’s men abandoned the Greater Arapile and the entire French force fell back to the woodland south of the battlefield. Clinton pressed on until he came head-to-head with General Claude François Ferrey’s Third Division, which had been rallied to mount a rearguard action. It would be a race against time for Clinton to smash through Ferrey’s men before darkness, who had the determination and energy to give the French survivors time to get away. Ferrey ordered his troops into a line rather than the standard French columns to provide maximum coverage. Square formations along with Boyer’s dragoons and light cavalry led by Jean-Baptiste Curto protected his flanks. Foy’s First Division was also involved, keeping the skirmishing riflemen back.

Clinton wanted to strike Ferrey’s line as the remaining French guns were maintaining withering fire towards his men. Pakenham’s pleas to wait until the flanking brigades had formed fell on deaf ears and Clinton ordered a brigade led by Richard Hulse to attack the French right while a Fourth Division Fusilier Brigade attacked their left. Hulse’s men suffered huge losses as the French could give him their full attention without having to worry about their flanks. They faced what one officer described as “a cloud of skirmishers” and grapeshot from the French artillery. The Third Division held out until their comrades to escape, collapsing only when Leith’s Fifth Division joined the attack. This sacrifice, which had led to Ferrey’s death when he was struck by a cannonball, left the Coalition scrambling to track the remnants of the French force in the darkness. Clinton ordered his men to pursue, but they only made it 90m before they had to bivouac. Wellesley finally called his men off, ending the Battle of Salamanca with a Coalition victory.

AFTERMATH

The Battle of Salamanca began with Wellesley on the ropes and Marmont optimistic he could force the Coalition back to Ciudad Rodrigo without firing a shot. Yet Wellesley exploited a narrow window of opportunity to turn the tide against Marmont, isolating Maucune and Thomières’ divisions. Wellesley’s men took 7,000 prisoners and killed or wounded 13,000, a French casualty rate of 25 percent. Meanwhile, the Coalition suffered 5,173 casualties. This clear victory showed Wellesley wasn’t just a great defensive general but could win on the offensive too.

Salamanca wasn’t the end of France’s Iberian humiliation in 1812. General Maximilien Foy was ordered to cover the retreat and British dragoons caught up with his force a day later. His division was torn to shreds at the Battle of García Hernández. By freak chance, a mortally wounded horse crashed through the first French square, opening it up for horsemen to rush in during what Foy described as the most audacious British cavalry charge of the Peninsula War. In the chaos, British dragoons broke three French infantry squares to destroy a force over twice its size. Defeat at García Hernández meant that every French division in the Army of Portugal had been mauled and pushed to the northeast. The way was clear for Madrid to be taken and Napoleon’s brother King Joseph fled. The Spanish Cortes Generales hailed Wellesley as the saviour of Spain, but the campaign had sapped the commander’s energy and he would soon be forced back to Portugal.

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WHAT IF...

THE NAZIS HAD THE ATOM BOMB FIRST?

With the ultimate weapon in his grasp, would Hitler have held Europe to ransom or reduced it to rubble?

Interview by David J Williamson

INTERVIEW WITH

© S Kean

SAM KEAN

Kean is the *New York Times* bestselling author of six books, including *The Bastard Brigade*, *The Tale of the Duelling Neurosurgeons* and *The Disappearing Spoon*. His books have won international awards for literary science writing and been featured on NPR's *Radiolab*, *All Things Considered*, and *Fresh Air*.

As soon as Ernest Rutherford created an artificial nuclear reaction in the lab in 1917, it was only a matter of time before the process would develop into nuclear fission and become a possible weapon of war. From their intelligence sources the Allies were aware that if the Nazis were to align their science and their resources correctly, then production of a Nazi atomic weapon was very real. With the Allies fighting on two fronts - a team of scientists in the lab developing the bomb for the West, and the military whose job it was to make sure the Nazis could never succeed - the race was on. But if the Allies had lost that race, how might things have taken a different turn?

Why were scientists on the Manhattan Project convinced that Hitler was pursuing an atomic bomb?

They were convinced that Nazi Germany had the inside track on the bomb for a few reasons. First, German chemists and physicists had discovered nuclear fission in the first place, making them the world leaders in this field. Second, the Third Reich founded its own Manhattan Project - the dreaded Uranium Club - in 1939, giving it a three-year head start on the Manhattan Project. Third, Germany had the world's best industrial firms, needed to process the vast amount of raw material a nuclear bomb requires. No other country on Earth could match its genius and industrial might - not to mention its diabolical urge to wage war.

This realisation had two effects. First, it pushed American scientists to work maniacally hard on atomic bombs. Second, it convinced the Allies to sponsor a series of desperate missions to sabotage the Nazi bomb project, as detailed in my book *The Bastard Brigade*. Spies, soldiers, physicists, politicians - all had roles to play. As one historian said: "Never, perhaps, have scientists and statesmen played for higher stakes, or has the sense of breathless urgency driven men to more extraordinary exertions."

How would it best serve Hitler's plans - as a deterrent, bargaining chip, or actual deployment?

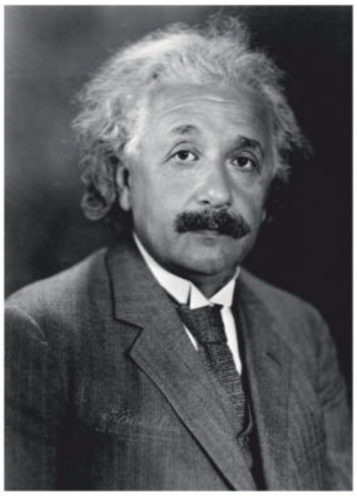
Hitler wasn't exactly known for his patience and willingness to play the long game, so it's doubtful that the Nazi High Command would have restrained themselves and used the bombs merely as deterrents or bargaining chips - at least not during the war. Hitler also saw himself in world-historical terms, as a saviour to his people, and given such grandiose notions, it's easy to imagine him justifying the use of A-bombs.

It's important to remember that anyone who grew up with atomic bombs understands how scary they are, but most people alive then did not share that instinctive horror. Atomic bombs merely seemed like bigger versions of conventional bombs, which would have made it easier to justify using them.

One often-overlooked possibility for the Third Reich was the deployment not of atomic bombs per se but so-called dirty bombs, which used radioactive materials produced in reactors. Atomic bombs kill you by releasing energy all at once in a chain reaction; they produce a mushroom cloud and vaporise you. Dirty bombs kill by releasing atoms that bombard you with deadly

RIGHT Could Hitler have used a dirty bomb to scupper the Allies' Normandy invasion?

All Images: © Alamy, © Getty Images



radioactivity, wriggling inside your body and poisoning you. Dirty bombs require much less sophistication and are much easier to deploy: you simply have to spread the dirty radioactive material around. You can do that with regular explosives. You can even mix the radioactive material with smoke or powder and then use crop dusters to spray it around.

Dirty bombs could have been especially effective in the lead up to D-Day because they're suited to resisting invasions. Even a few hours of exposure to radioactive elements will kill troops. And because radioactivity is invisible, soldiers might not realise they're being poisoned until it's too late. The Reich didn't need to poison the entire landscape, either - just certain key areas such as ports, beaches, railyards, airports, highways and water reservoirs. By concentrating on this infrastructure, the Nazis could have easily neutered the entire D-Day operation with just a few ounces of isotopes.

When and where could Hitler have used it as a display of superior power?

Again, it's doubtful Hitler would have seriously considered this option. Why merely show it off when you can deal the enemy a potentially fatal blow? (Germany did exactly this when using gas warfare in WWI - no warning, just deployment.) Hitler might have avoided destroying London or Paris as beautiful cities, but he probably wouldn't have had much compunction about obliterating Moscow.

When the Allies completed their own bomb, would they have used it against Hitler, or would it have ended up being a stalemate?

It probably wouldn't have been a stalemate. The Allies beat the Nazis without the bomb, and if it had been ready to use before the Nazis surrendered, the Third Reich would have been in even bigger trouble.

If the bomb had been ready, it's likely the Allies would have used it against Nazi Germany. Many scientists on the Manhattan Project had been run out of Europe by Hitler and were terrified that he and his minions would soon acquire the bomb and control the world. They explicitly and consciously joined the Manhattan Project in order to build a bomb first and neutralise the threat.

When considering questions like this, there's a useful moment to think of. Samuel Goudsmit - a nuclear scientist who helped direct the Alsos mission, the military's rogue atomic spy unit during the war - heard the news about the Nazi surrender and turned to a military officer he'd been working with and said that this was wonderful news: now they wouldn't have to deploy the atom bomb. The officer just looked at him: "You understand, Sam, that if we have such a weapon we're going to use it." That's essentially the mentality that led to the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The military had paid a lot for its expensive new toy (nearly $2 billion in 1940s money, over $30 billion today), and they were determined to try it out.

Atomic bombs had originated in fear, as defensive weapons to counteract the threat of a nuclear Reich. But as the German threat receded, so too had the notion of merely playing defence. Imperceptibly but inevitably, the bomb had been transmuted into something else - the most blatantly offensive weapon in history.

What challenges to unity may have arisen within the Allies if faced with this threat?

There was a sense among the British that the Americans were a little too gung-ho about all things atomic. Partly due to economic and material reasons, the British contributed far less to the Manhattan Project than the Americans did. The British also grew annoyed at the Alsos mission, the group of American army officers and scientists tasked with scouring Europe for atomic secrets. And before D-Day, when the Manhattan Project warned Allied commanders about the possible dangers of radioactivity and dirty bombs, the British rolled their eyes. Winston Churchill seemed especially dismissive, commenting: "This all seems very fruity." (Eisenhower, in contrast, was somewhat spooked, and soon

ABOVE-LEFT Einstein came to regret his miscalculation of Nazi capability

ABOVE-MIDDLE Stalin's Russia could have been overwhelmed by a nuclear Nazi state

ABOVE-RIGHT Hitler would not have hesitated in using an atomic bomb

BELOW If WWII had gone nuclear, Europe would've become a blasted wasteland

Manhattan Project scientists had some ground to make up

> ATOMIC BOMBS HAD ORIGINATED IN FEAR, AS DEFENSIVE WEAPONS

initiated Operation Peppermint in 1944, history's first attempt to grapple with radioactive warfare.)

All of which is to say that the British government might well have objected to the Americans wanting to use an atomic bomb in Europe, especially after it was clear the Nazis would lose the war, but they might not have been able to stop a determined American military from doing so.

How might the outcome of the war and its aftermath have been shaped by Hitler having the bomb?

Again, Hitler didn't exactly show a lot of patience or restraint. But with an atomic bomb – or potentially even some dirty bombs – it's possible that he could have halted the Allies' advances and even wrestled them into a stalemate. And at that point, an atomic bomb would have given him a lot of bargaining power. Obviously Germany would not have been carved up into East and West, and communism almost certainly would never have taken root there and might not have in Eastern Europe in general. It's even possible a rump Nazi state could still exist today – a chilling thought.

If Allied raids to destroy their plans had been unsuccessful, how close were the Nazis to completing a bomb?

Thankfully, we don't have to deal with any of the awful possibilities laid out here because, in reality, the Nazi regime never got close to making an atomic bomb. It was certainly not due to a lack of brain power. Germany had the greatest scientists in the world back then. And there was no 'secret formula' to making an atomic bomb. The basic science was known in early 1939, before the Second World War even started. The real 'secret' to making bombs is simply manpower: building huge factories and pouring in lots of money. By the end of the war, Germany's economy was in shambles, making that impossible, but if they'd started in earnest in 1939, history might have turned out very differently.

The really interesting question, then, is why the Nazis never built it. The famous physicist Werner Heisenberg worked on the Uranium Club under the Third Reich, and after the war finished, he and others swore that they had deliberately worked slowly and dissuaded Nazi leaders from pursuing an atomic bomb.

That's possibly self-serving. The real answer is probably arrogance. Heisenberg and others realised how daunting an atomic bomb would be to build, given the absolutely enormous industrial capacity required. And they reasoned that if 'mighty' Germany would struggle to do it, then 'mere' Americans never could. They just didn't see American scientists as their equal. They were wrong. ○

ALTERNATE REALITIES

SPECIFICS

1939

THE URANIUM CLUB

Paul Harteck, a chemist, writes to Erich Schumann, head of weapons research in Berlin. Referring to the ability to make a nuclear bomb, he states: "That country which first makes use of it has an unsurpassable advantage over the others." Other research institutions look at nuclear reactors, isotope separation and hard water. Among German physicists there is a view that a bomb could take years to develop and is not a priority.

1939-45

FIRST PAST THE POST

Britain has already started its own research and by 1943 a policy of collaboration is established between the US, Britain and Canada on the Manhattan Project. By 1945 the budget has grown from $6,000 to $2 billion and there is sufficient uranium to produce a bomb. In July 1945 the first 'Trinity' bomb test takes place in New Mexico. The following month bombs are dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

1940-44

CUTTING OFF THE SUPPLY

With the Nazi invasion of Norway in 1940 comes the Reich's interest in the production of hard water, a vital element in creating nuclear power and an atomic bomb. The hard water Vemork power plant at Rjukan is destroyed by Norwegian saboteurs. Undeterred, the Nazis rebuilt the plant, but it's then destroyed by an air raid. With the sinking of the ship Hydro and its cargo of hard water in 1944, the Nazi supply and its potential use is eliminated.

SPECULATION

1939-45

USE IT OR LOSE IT

The spoils of war for many Western allies are not sufficient to rebuild their nations. Without the US, the cost of a standing army in constant readiness would be crippling. Facing a new 'enemy' in the Soviet Union, with its people driven by a single ideology and a regime determined to rebuild and even expand its nation, the threat of further conflict in Europe would have been very real.

1939-45

PLAYING DIRTY

Nazi 'dirty bombs' would still utilise radioactive material, distributed from much smaller explosions in a smaller area. The aftermath, however, could have been just as devastating to people – radiation sickness that could blight a whole generation. But if, like Hitler, you are in the business of invasion and domination, then leaving buildings, roads and bridges virtually intact would be a definite plus.

1945 ONWARDS

THE HORROR LIVES ON

With the Allies having developed their own atomic bomb after Hitler, the prospects of a nuclear conflict in Europe are very real. The alternative may have been a negotiated settlement in which some form of Nazi state under Hitler continues to exist until well after the war's end. Given time, the Nazis rebuild their economy and infrastructure to become a main player in European and global politics.

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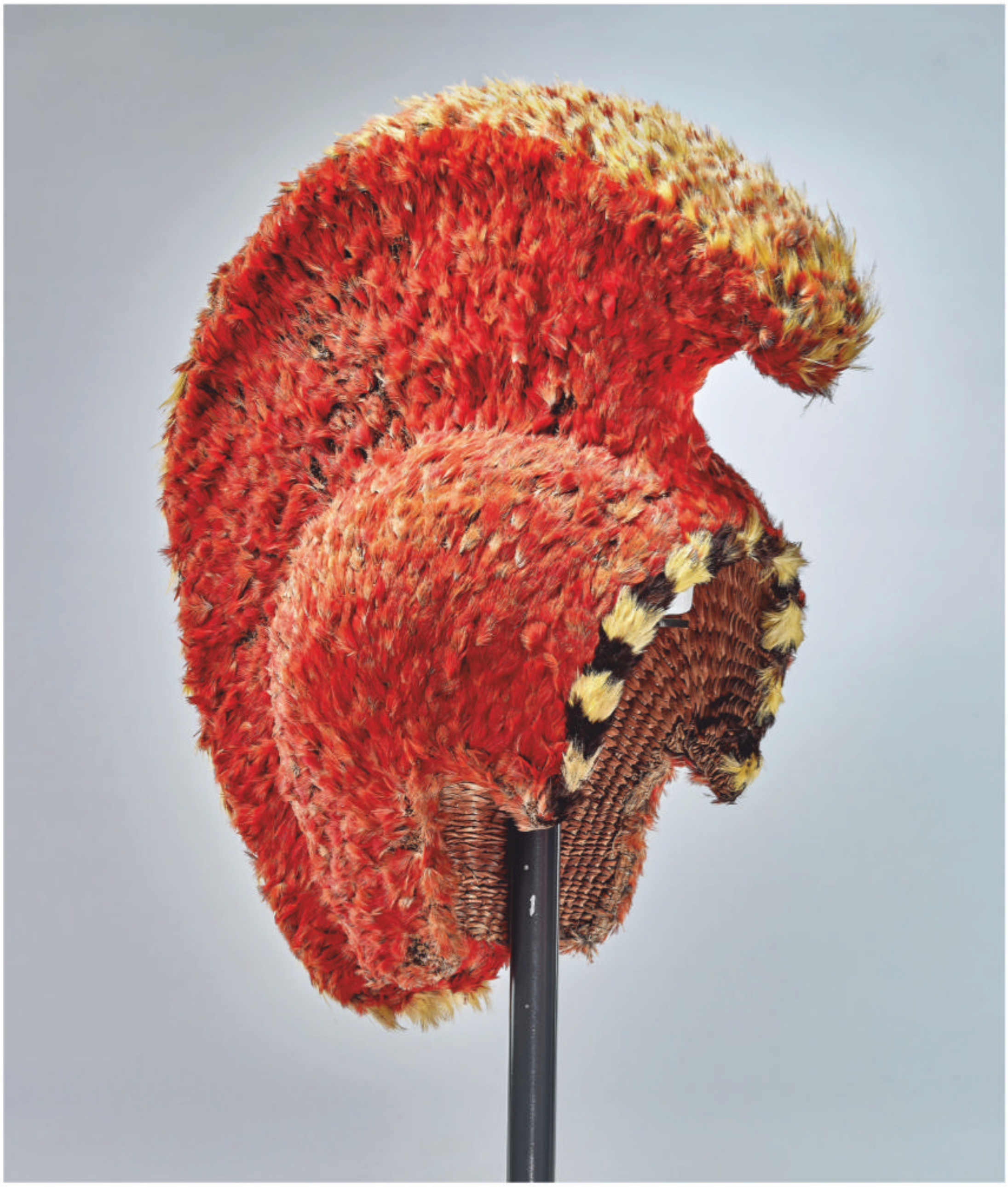


HAWAIIAN HELMET

◀ Feathered helmets, or mahiole, like this one were worn in ceremonial and military settings, often with 'ahu 'ula cloaks. Made from the roots of a climbing plant called 'ie 'ie, each helmet's design was unique to the person who wore it.

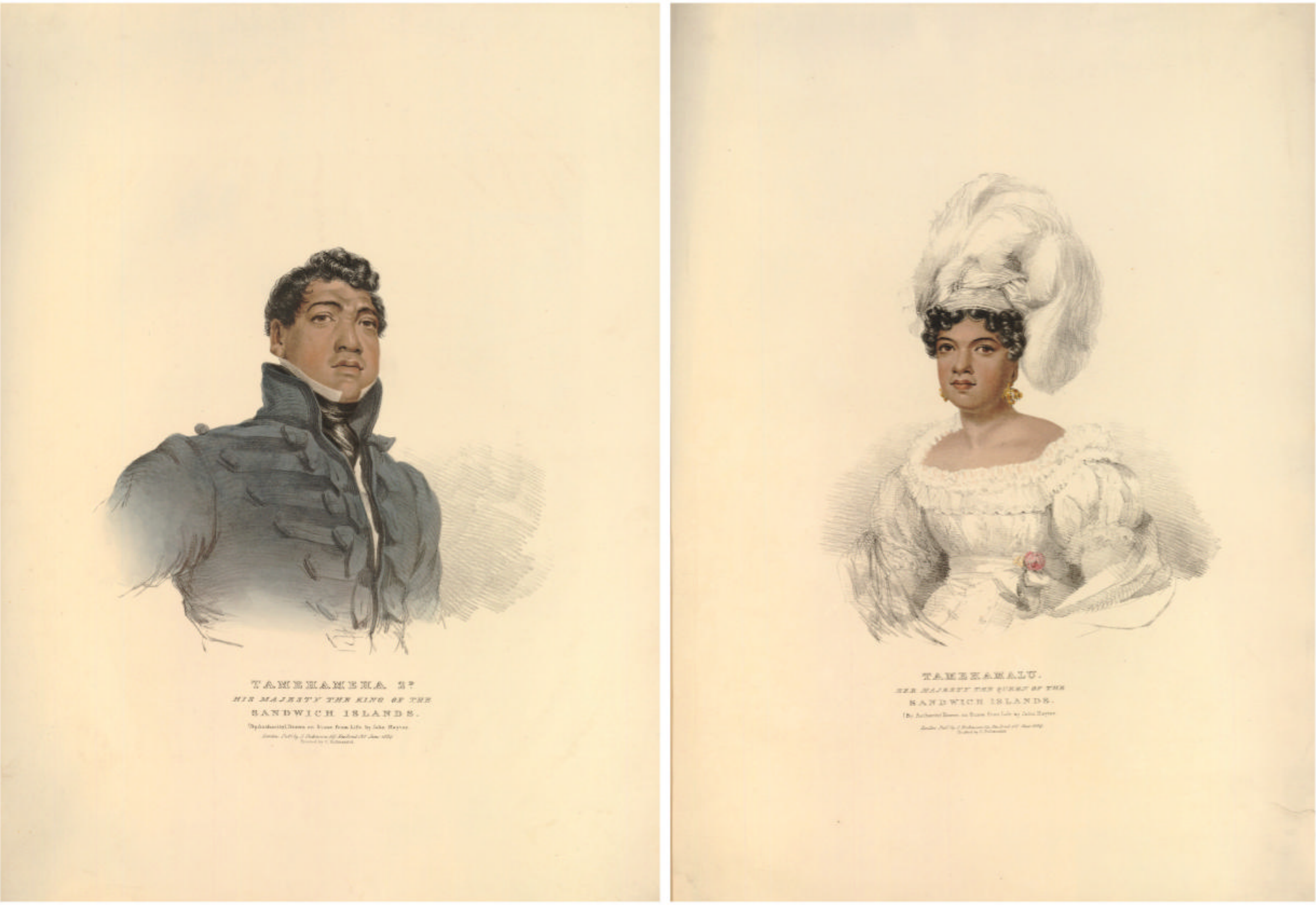
© The Trustees of the British Museum

CROSSING OCEANS

A new exhibition explores the historic relationship between Hawaii and the UK

On May 1824, Hawaiian King Liholiho and Queen Kamāmalu journeyed to London to meet with King George IV to strengthen ties between Hawaii and Britain and to seek an alliance. Throughout their stay the Hawaiian delegation visited many sites of historic and cultural significance, including the British Museum in London. Unfortunately, the journey ended in catastrophe when both Hawaiian royals contracted measles and died within days of each other. However, despite its tragic end, the trip was an important historic moment.

Two hundred years later, the British Museum is commemorating the visit with a new exhibition. Hawaii: A Kingdom Crossing Oceans celebrates the history, culture and art of the seafaring state while exploring the global journeys and voyages of Hawaiian leaders. Featuring many objects never before displayed in the UK, the exhibition has been created in collaboration with Native Hawaiian knowledge-bearers. Dr Alice Christophe, curator and head of Oceania at the British Museum, says: "This co-stewarded exhibition is a tribute to Native Hawaiian makers, past and present. At its core, it tells the story of the deep and layered relationship between Hawaii and the United Kingdom, reflecting on care, sovereignty and the complexity of allyship."


TAMEHAMEHA 2D
HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE
SANDWICH ISLANDS.
TAMEHAMALU.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF THE
SANDWICH ISLANDS.

REGAL PORTRAITS

▲ Painted by British court artist John Hayter, these portraits depict King Liholiho and Queen Kamāmalu. They were painted during their visit to London in 1824.

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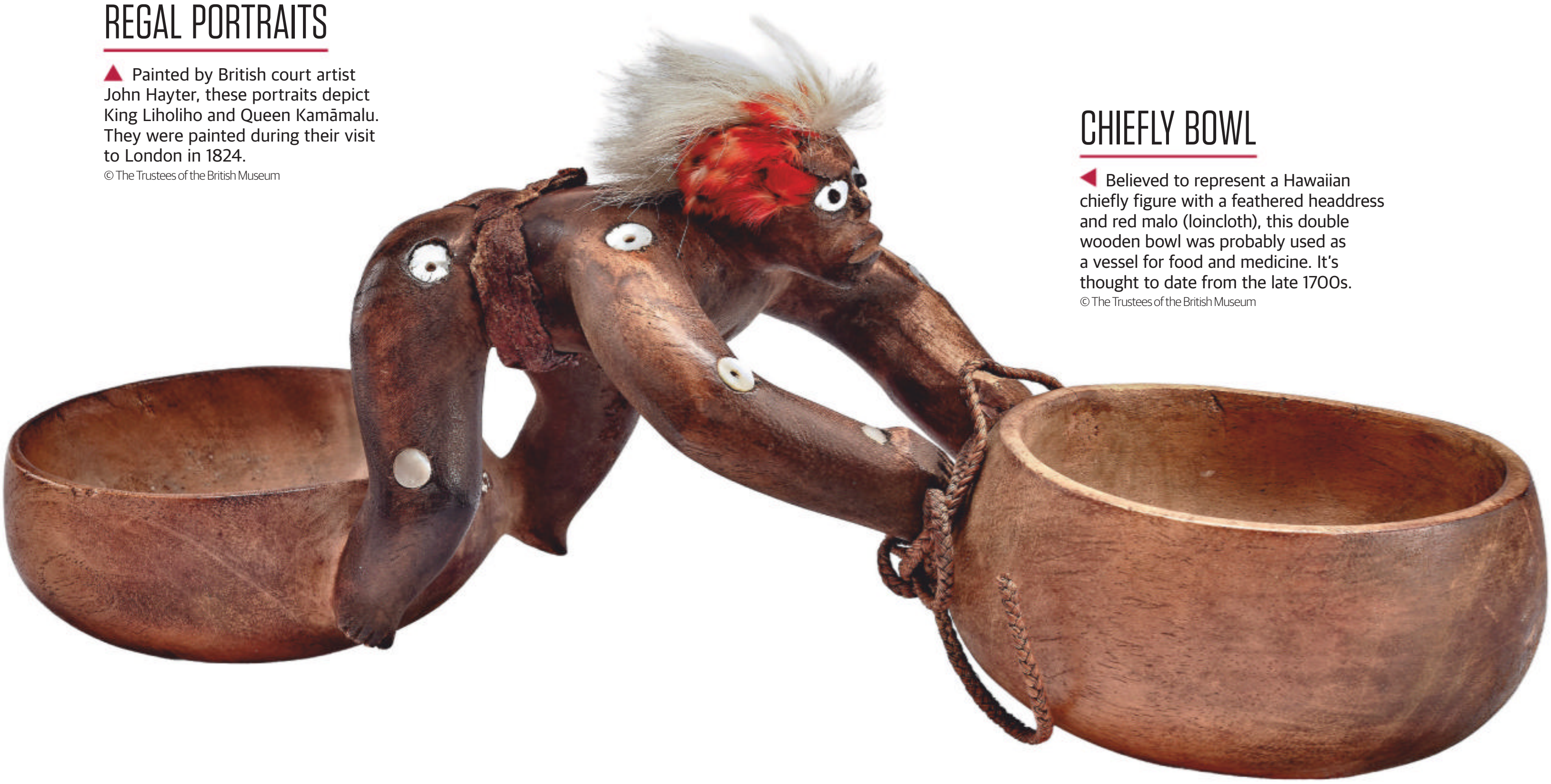
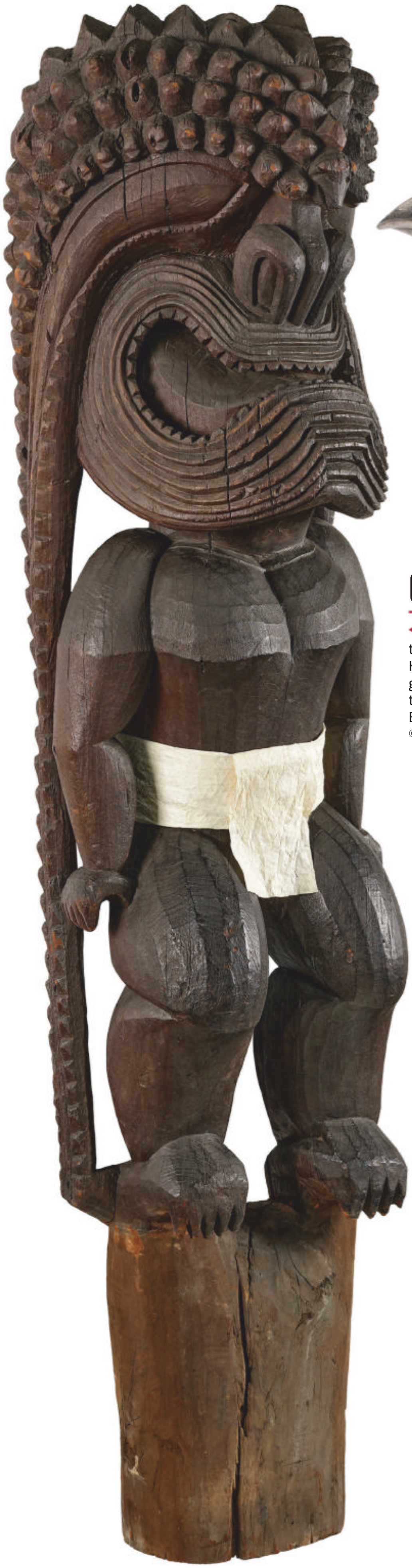


CHIEFLY BOWL

◀ Believed to represent a Hawaiian chiefly figure with a feathered headdress and red malo (loincloth), this double wooden bowl was probably used as a vessel for food and medicine. It's thought to date from the late 1700s.

© The Trustees of the British Museum



GODLY FIGURE

◀ This figure, or ki'i, is thought to depict Kū, the Hawaiian god of war and governance. It's believed to have been brought to England by King Liholiho.
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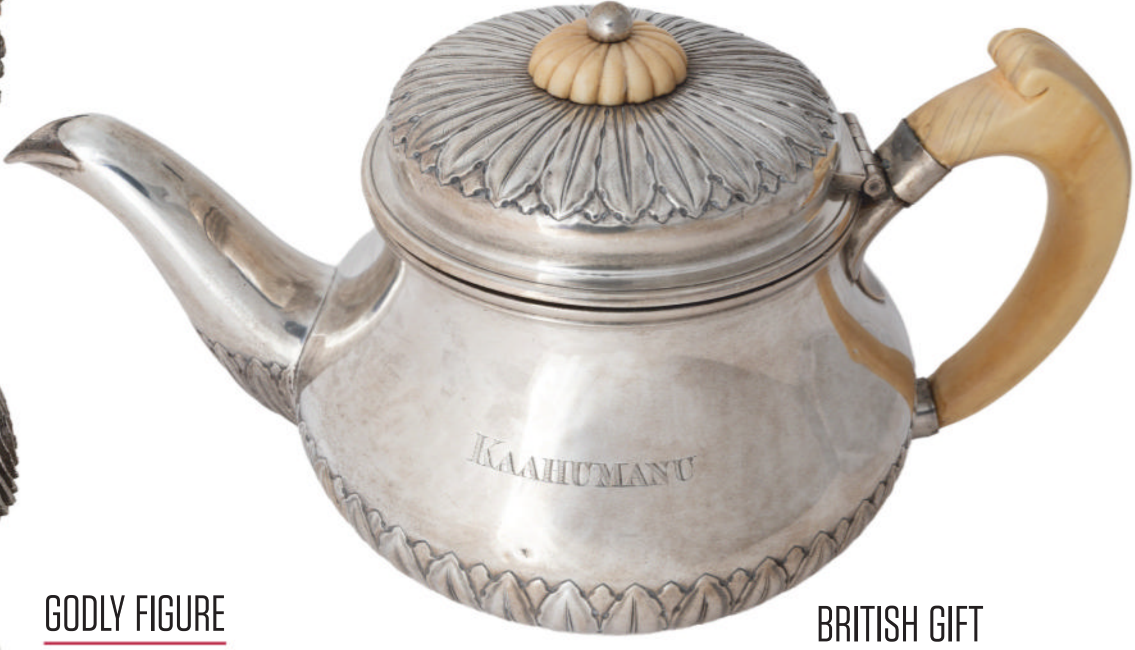

BRITISH GIFT

▲ Presented to Ka'ahumanu, King Liholiho's stepmother and the Hawaiian Kuhina Nui (premier), this silver teapot is engraved with the coat of arms of the United Kingdom and Ka'ahumanu's name.
© Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum

TINY TURTLE

▼ Thought to originate from the Hawaiian island of Kauai, this small ornament dates from the 1700s. It's made from whale ivory and was worn around the wrist or on a finger.
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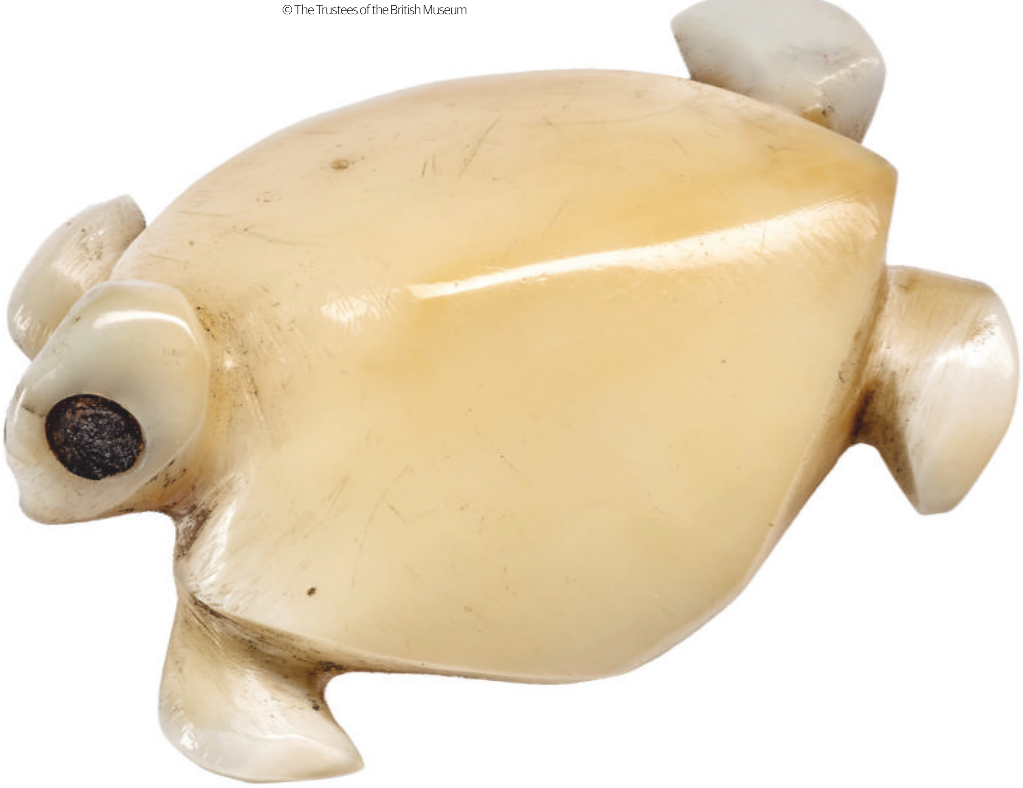

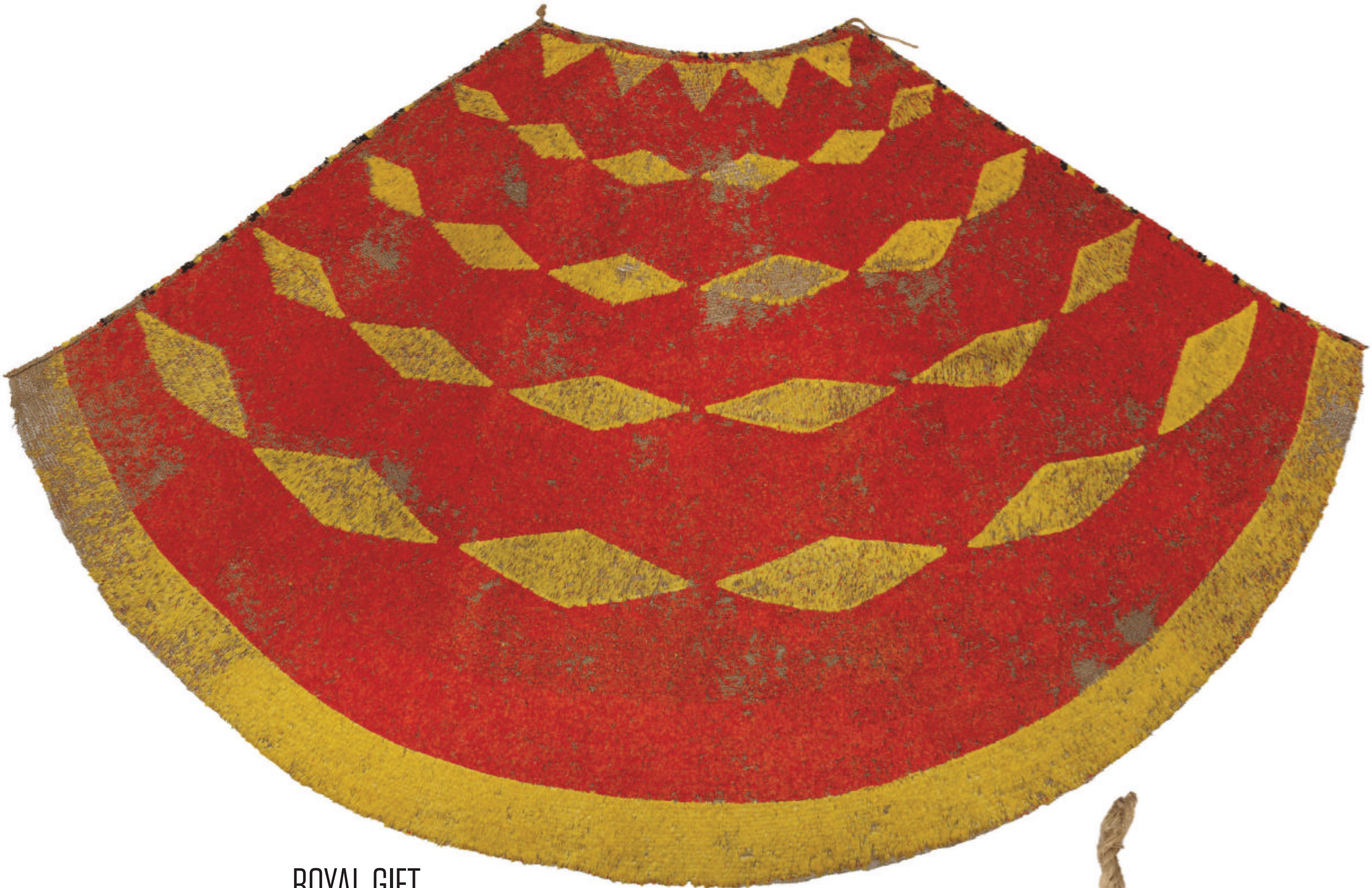

ROYAL GIFT

▲ This ʻahu ʻula, or feathered cloak, was sent by the first king of unified Hawaii, Kamehameha I, to King George III in 1810. By the time the cloak reached England two years later it was received by the future George IV who was ruling as Prince Regent.

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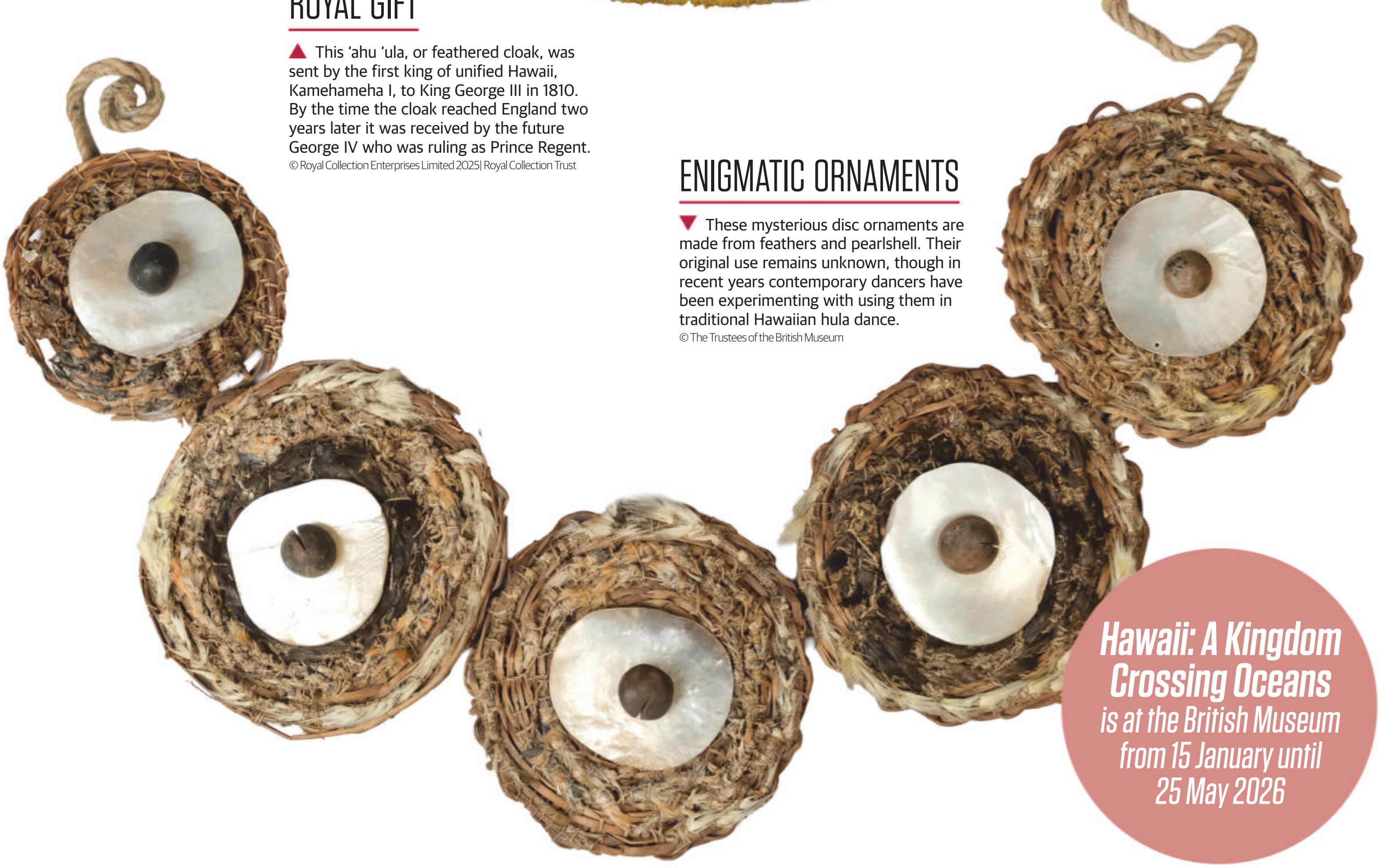

ENIGMATIC ORNAMENTS

▼ These mysterious disc ornaments are made from feathers and pearlshell. Their original use remains unknown, though in recent years contemporary dancers have been experimenting with using them in traditional Hawaiian hula dance.

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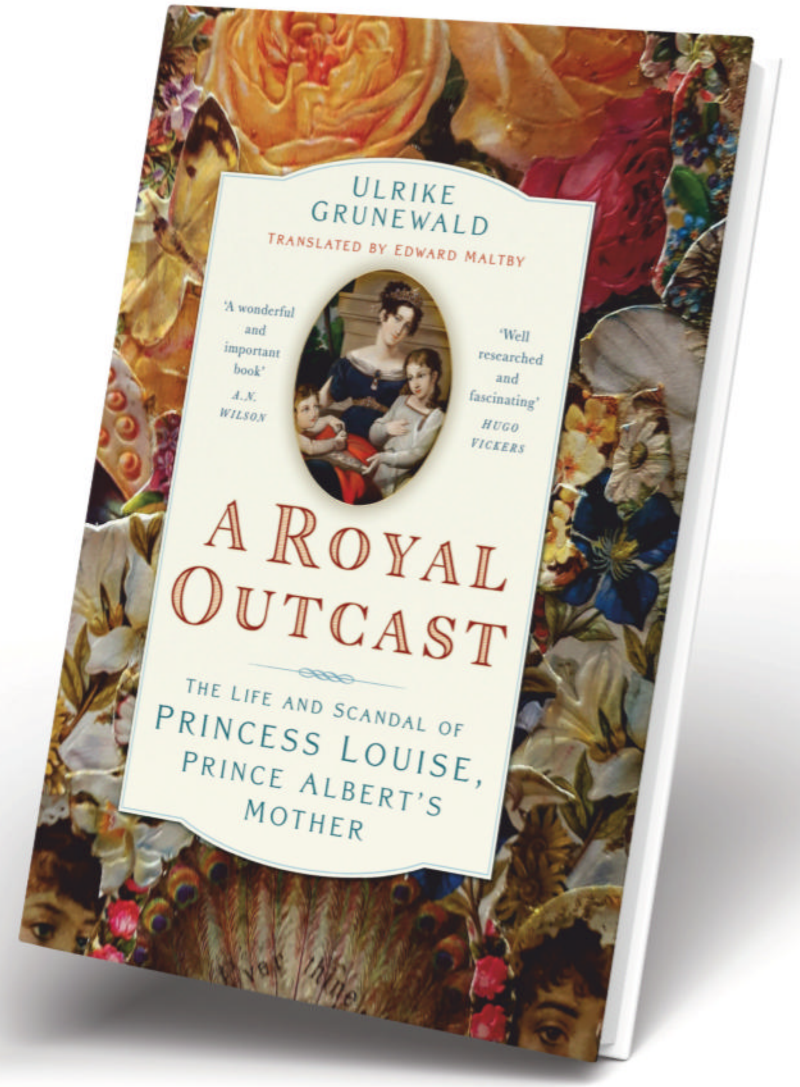
Hawaii: A Kingdom Crossing Oceans
is at the British Museum from 15 January until 25 May 2026

A ROYAL OUTCAST

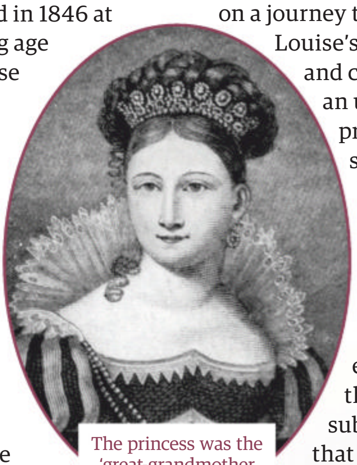
THE LIFE AND SCANDAL OF PRINCESS LOUISE, PRINCE ALBERT'S MOTHER

The fascinating story of a little-known royal

Author: Dr Ulrike Grunewald (Translated by Edward Maltby)
Publisher: The History Press
Price: £22.99
Released: Out now


ULRIKE GRUNEWALD
TRANSLATED BY EDWARD MALTBY
'A wonderful and important book' A.N. WILSON
'Well researched and fascinating' HUGO VICKERS
A ROYAL OUTCAST
THE LIFE AND SCANDAL OF PRINCESS LOUISE, PRINCE ALBERT'S MOTHER

Despite its somewhat unwieldy title, *A Royal Outcast: The Life and Scandal of Princess Louise, Prince Albert's Mother* is a succinct, readable and engaging tale of royal woe. When she died in 1846 at the tragically young age of 31, Princess Louise of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg had already endured more unhappiness and intrigue than most. Today she is all but forgotten, but her descendants still occupy thrones across the continent. She was, posits Dr Ulrike Grunewald, the great-grandmother of Europe, and this rigorously researched biography sets out to turn the spotlight back onto Princess Louise.


The princess was the 'great-grandmother of Europe'

If she is remembered at all, it is likely as the mother of Prince Albert, the adored consort of Queen Victoria. However, Louise's life is every bit as worthy of attention as that of her more famous son. Married at the age of 16 to a man two decades her senior, Louise produced the all-important heir and spare for the house of Saxe-Coburg-Altenburg, but her marriage was a miserable one. When both husband and wife sought solace in lovers, the union fell apart; it ended in scandal, gossip and, ultimately divorce. A secret marriage followed, eventually bringing with it ruin and tragedy.

This fascinating book takes us on a journey through Princess Louise's turbulent 31 years and conjures into life an unconventional princess who was no swooning victim, but a woman with an unbreakable will and formidable character. Branded 'Scandalous Louise' by her enemies, she won the hearts of her subjects so totally that their devotion to her threatened to topple a dynasty.

Mindful that her subject will not be particularly familiar to the majority of readers, Grunewald starts at what might seem like the end: the death of Princess Louise. After placing her subject in the context of instantly familiar territory, namely the morally unimpeachable power couple Victoria and Albert, Grunewald then goes back to the start, introducing the world and family into which Louise was born. With walk-on appearances from Madame de Pompadour and King George IV, Grunewald evokes a world that has long passed, bringing it vividly back to life. It is not only a biography of a woman who has been all but written out of history, but also of a family, as the house of Coburg rose from insignificant beginnings to become a dynastic behemoth.

A Royal Outcast is the product of more than a decade of research and it certainly shows. For readers wanting to know more about Princess Louise, there is a comprehensive bibliography and copious references, while a timeline of key events is a useful roadmap through a life that was packed with incident. Simple family trees offer readers an at-a-glance who's who, always a welcome feature in the tangled world of royal marriage. This book will please a wide range of readers, from royal-watchers to those who simply love a good scandal. ***CC***

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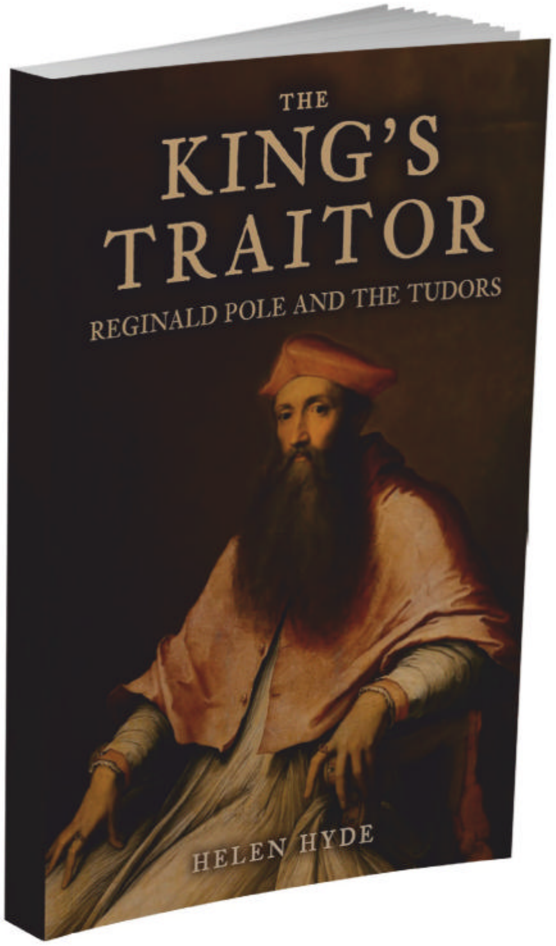


THE KING'S TRAITOR

A comprehensive study of Reginald Pole, Henry VIII's arch rival

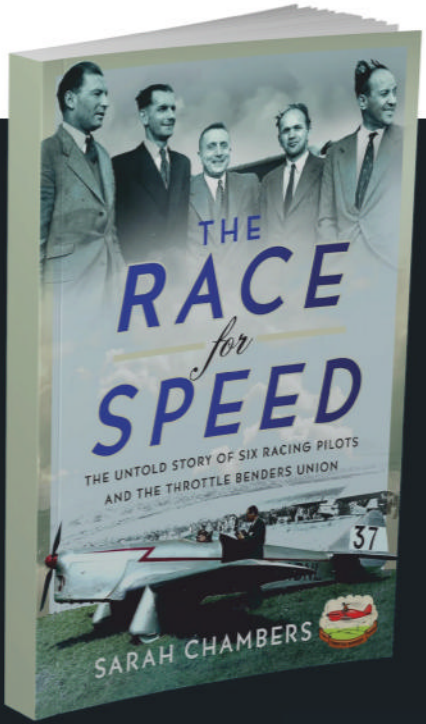
Author: Helen Hyde
Publisher: Amberley Publishing
Price: £22 .99
Released: Out now

Of all the prominent figures of the Tudor courts, Reginald Pole is arguably one of the least well known. A descendent of George, Duke of Clarence, the brother of both Edward IV and Richard III, Pole was a staunch defender of the Catholic Church and the papacy and an outspoken opponent of Henry VIII's religious reforms. In many ways, Pole is remarkable for keeping hold of his head in the face of King Henry's notorious wrath.

In *The King's Traitor: Reginald Pole and the Tudors*, scholar and Royal Historical Society fellow Helen Hyde brings together contemporary source material and later works of biography to draw a new and comprehensive picture of Pole, his true beliefs and the importance of his life and work.

The King's Traitor is a thorough and entertaining biography of Pole that spans from his birth during the reign of Henry VII to his death on the same day of his patron, ally and friend Mary I. Hyde skilfully and chronologically takes the reader through Pole's tumultuous career, from the writing of *De Unitate Ecclesiastica* (*Defence of the Unity of the Church*), which has been described as "the most significant individual act of resistance to Henry's Reformation", to his role in the burning of "heretics" during the Marian regime.

Through Hyde's extensive research, an image is formed of Pole, the last Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury, as a vocal stalwart who played a vital role in England's religious history. ***ES***



THE RACE FOR SPEED

THE UNTOLD STORY OF SIX RACING PILOTS AND THE THROTTLE BENDERS UNION

Discover a forgotten corner of aviation history

Author: Sarah Chambers
Publisher: Pen & Sword Books
Price: £29.99
Released: Out now

Air racing doesn't feature in many headlines these days, but it's been around since the dawn of manned flight and was popular in Britain in the years following the Second World War. During this period, six men formed the Throttle Benders Union, a society dedicated to racing and pushing the boundaries of speed. In *The Race for Speed*, Sarah Chambers, author of 2023's biography of Flight Lieutenant Thomas 'Tommy' Rose, jumps into the cockpit to tell the union's story.

Chambers' take-off is a little uneven. The opening chapter, "Resumption of Post Second World War Flying and the Birth of the Throttle Benders Union", is a whirlwind recap of major events in British aeronautics, as well as a history of the union as an organisation, up until the end of the 1950s. Chambers' writing in this section is incredibly factually focussed but can at times be a little dry, though certainly informative.

Fortunately, in the subsequent chapters Chambers takes her readers on a much smoother journey. She devotes a chapter each to one of the six founding members of the Throttle Benders Union, plus two who joined later. A variety of sources, including original biographies, contemporary newspapers and works by other authors, are used to inform her narration of the pilots' lives. Chambers also illustrates *The Race For Speed* throughout, including a number of original photographs and diagrams.

For aeronautical fans, this book is sure to be a treat. After a somewhat bumpy first chapter, Chambers plots a smoother course, leading to a superb landing. ***CM***

MICHAEL SHANNON
MATTHEW MACFADYEN
NICK OFFERMAN
BETTY GILPIN
DEATH BY LIGHTNING
ONLY ON NETFLIX
NOVEMBER 6

DEATH BY LIGHTNING

This superb historic drama shines a light on America's self-image

Service: Netflix
Director: Matt Ross
Cast: Michael Shannon, Matthew Macfadyen, Nick Offerman
Released: Out now

Who and what is America? Not to sound like the BBC's gormless historian/comedic creation Philomena Cunk, but these salient questions strike at the heart of this engrossing four-part drama about the short-lived career of 20th US President James A Garfield. Unlike John F Kennedy and Abraham Lincoln, whose assassinations are infamous and obsessed over to this very day, Garfield's public execution at the hands of Charles Guiteau, only three months into his administration, in 1881, hasn't left the same cultural mark. *Death by Lightning* wryly dramatises this in its opening scene, in which a government warehouse worker in 1969 discovers Guiteau's brain in a jar, reads the label and asks his colleagues: "Who the f*** is Charles Guiteau?" This sets the right tone for writer Mike Makowsky's excellent historical mini-series.

Based on Candice Millard's 2011 nonfiction book *Destiny of the Republic: A Tale of Madness, Medicine and the Murder of a President*, this acclaimed (and rightly so) Netflix production is spearheaded by superlative performances from Matthew Macfadyen (Guiteau), Michael Shannon (Garfield) and Nick Offerman (Vice-President Chester A Arthur). The trio are seasoned performers of stage and screen and their characters here clearly symbolise the conflicting impulses of the American political psyche. Guiteau is the entitled grifter; Garfield is sincere, fair and progressive; and Arthur sees politics as a savage game. Offerman is especially hilarious as an oafish power player, with Arthur's dramatic arc from useful idiot to a man stepping up and changing his ways genuinely endearing.

Unlike John Wilkes Booth (killer of Lincoln) or Lee Harvey Oswald (JFK's assassin), hardly anyone remembers Guiteau and he doesn't appear in numerous books, television series and movies. Historians who have bothered investigating his relatively short life (he was 40 at time of his execution) have theorised that Guiteau was a narcissist, a schizophrenic, or somebody suffering brain rot because of syphilis. Macfadyen gives a virtuoso portrayal of the assassin's weird personality and mental descent, and his sneaky Guiteau is a mix of superficial charm, self-defeating desperation and misguided enthusiasm.

This series offers the audience several 'what if?' questions to ponder. Garfield was not a perfect man and his presidency was so short-lived that his legacy is threadbare, but his values in terms of race relations and his standing up to 'boss rule' mark him out as somebody who potentially might have been the heir to Honest Abe. As one Republican party delegate tells Garfield: "We're the party of Lincoln. We ought to act like it."

Death by Lightning – its curious (and ironic) title comes from a comment by Garfield that worrying about being assassinated is about as useful as worrying about death by lightning – is a brilliant watch from start to finish. The series is both a tragedy and a funny, satirical romp that also finds time to explore the American political mindset in all its rich and strange contradictions. ***MC***

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EDEN

Director: Ron Howard **Starring:** Jude Law, Vanessa Kirby, Daniel Brühl **Country:** Ecuador **Year:** 2024

How did the promise of Utopia in the Galápagos Islands really unravel?

A RON HOWARD FILM
JUDE LAW
ANA DE ARMAS
VANESSA KIRBY
DANIEL BRÜHL
SYDNEY SWEENEY
EDEN
INSPIRED BY THE ACCOUNTS OF THOSE WHO SURVIVED
"A THRILLER FROM TOP TO BOTTOM"
"A CARNIVAL OF MANIPULATION AND VIOLENCE"
AUGUST 22

B
HISTORY
Embellishes and speculates a little, but largely sticks to the facts.

C
HOLLYWOOD
A little strained in places and the accent work isn't the best.

OVERALL
C
VERDICT

01 Dr Friedrich Ritter (Law) and his partner Dore Strauch (Kirby) have moved to Floreana, one of the Galápagos Islands, to build a self-sufficient life for themselves. Ritter writes about his new way of life, creating a fair amount of media attention in the early 1930s.

02 Ritter is so committed to his mission that he's had his teeth removed, expecting no dental care to be available on the island, and replaced with steel dentures. As shown in the film, press reports of a new Eden being built inspire others to join him.

03 Among the new residents are Heinz (Brühl) and Margret Wittmer (Sydney Sweeney), but they're not welcomed by Ritter and left to fend for themselves. As depicted in the film, Margret gave birth on her own in a cave as Heinz and his son were hunting.

04 The third party to arrive is led by Eloise Bosquet de Wagner (Ana de Armas), who wants to build a hotel and resort on Floreana, in contrast to the rough living of the other residents. She is killed by Ritter and Wittmer, but in reality her disappearance remains unsolved.

05 Ritter, typically a vegetarian, dies on the island from food poisoning having been deliberately served spoiled chicken meat by Strauch. The cause of Ritter's death is real, but whether he was intentionally poisoned as suggested in the film is conjecture.

All images: © Alamy

RECIPE

GUACAMOLE

CENTRAL AMERICA, 14TH CENTURY – PRESENT

Serves: 4 **Prep time:** 10 mins

- 3-4 ripe avocados
- ½ yellow onion
- 2 plum tomatoes, diced
- 3 tbsp of finely chopped coriander
- 1 finely chopped jalapeno pepper, seeds removed
- 2 minced garlic cloves
- Juice 1 lime
- ½ tsp sea salt
- Tortilla chips to serve

Today guacamole is a common sight around the globe, frequently served with a plate of loaded nachos in your favourite drinking establishment or slathered through a spicy burrito. Guacamole's popularity has grown in many parts of the modern world thanks to the wider availability of the avocado, and it's a recipe that dates all the way back to the Aztecs.

The Nahuati (native Aztec language) word for the dish was 'āhuacamolli', which means 'avocado sauce'. Original recipes would have just been crushed avocados, broken down into a paste with a pestle and mortar. The nutritional value of the avocado made it as popular among the Aztecs as it is with us today, and it was also eaten by the Spanish when they arrived in Central America.

With the Spanish came the addition of ingredients like onions, coriander and lime, and you'll find a lot of debate among guacamole aficionados as to what is and is not a proper ingredient. As a dip, it's versatile, so for the most authentic experience you should prepare it as simply as possible. For this recipe, we've added some additional flavours you'll find in many classic offerings, influenced by the southern states of the US.

01 Crush the onion, jalapeno and half the coriander in a pestle and mortar or food processor with a pinch of salt to create a fine paste.

02 Slice open the avocados and remove the pit from the centre. Scoop out the flesh into a mixing bowl.

03 Mash the avocado in the bowl to your preferred consistency.

04 Add the tomatoes, remaining coriander and garlic as well as the onion and chili paste. Stir together until well incorporated and begin adding the lime juice and salt, tasting as you go.

05 Serve your guacamole with tortilla chips. If you're not serving immediately, keep the guacamole refrigerated in an air-tight container with plastic wrap pressed down on its surface to prevent oxidation turning it brown.

NEXT ISSUE

IN SEARCH OF NEFERTITI
ON SALE 22 JAN

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